PETER . WILLIAMSON
In the Dress of a Delaware Indian

1 Tomohawk.
2 Scalping Knife.
3 Shot. Bag.
4 Purse & Belt of Wampum.
5 Powderhorn.
6 Indian Canoe.
7 Bush fighting.
8 War Dance.

PETER . WILLIAMSON
In the Dress of a Delaware Indian

1 Tomohawk.
2 Scalping Knife.
3 Shot. Bag.
4 Purse & Belt of Wampum.
5 Powderhorn.
6 Indian Canoe.
7 Bush fighting.
8 War Dance.

FRENCH AND INDIAN CRUELTY

EXEMPLIFIED, IN THE

LIFE,

AND

VARIOUS VICISSITUDES OF FORTUNE,

OF

PETER WILLIAMSON,

WHO WAS CARRIED OFF FROM ABERDEEN IN HIS INFANCY, AND SOLD FOR A SLAVE IN PENSYLVANIA.

CONTAINING,

The Hiſtory of the Author's ſurpriſing Adventures in NORTH AMERICA; his Captivity among the Indians, and Manner of his Eſcape; the Cuſtoms, Dreſs, &c. of the Savages; Military Operations in that Quarter; with a Deſcription of the Britiſh Settlements, &c. &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An Account of the Proceedings of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt him, on his Return to Scotland; a brief Hiſtory of his Proceſs againſt them before the Court of Seſſion; and a ſhort Diſſertation on KIDNAPPING.

EDINBURGH:

PRINTED FOR AND SOLD BY THE BOOKSELLERS.

M.DCC.XCII.

CONTENTS.

I. French and Indian Cruelty.

THE Author's birth, and manner of his being kidnapped at Aberdeen - - - 9
He arrives off the coaſt of America, and is ſhipwrecked at Cape May - - - 10
Sold at Philadelphia to a planter - - 11
Deſcription of the city of Philadelphia - - 12
His marriage and ſettlement in a plantation - 13
His houſe burnt by the Indians; and - 16
Himſelf carried off by them - - - 17
The cruel treatment he ſuffered while among the ſavages - - - - - 18
The ſhocking maſſacre of Jacob Snider and his family - - - - 20
Other inſtances of the barbarity of the Indians 22
Deſcription of their dreſs, and diſpoſitions 27
The author meditates his eſcape; and - - 33
Accompliſhes it, at the riſk of his life - - 34
His manner of travelling and concealing himſelf 35
His arrival at the houſe of John Bell, who takes him for an Indian, and threatens to ſhoot him - 36
Kind reception among his wife's friends - *ib.*
Examination before Governor Morris - 37
Enters a volunteer in Shirley's regiment - 38
His arrival at Boſton, and a deſcription of it. 39
Joſeph Long, Eſq. with his houſe and ſervants, burnt by the Indians - - - - 41
His ſon and daughter carried off by them - 42
James Crawford, Eſq. his expedition for the reſcue of Miſs Long - - - - - *ib.*

The deplorable condition in which ſhe was found 43
Fifty of the ſavages killed and ſcalped - - *ib.*
The young lady's account of the maſſacre of her brother - - - - 43
Miſs Long married to her deliverer - - 46
March of the forces for Oſwego - - 47
Account of the different nations of the Indians 48
Their education, manners, religion, &c. - 49
Preparations for defending Oſwego - - 53
The Author's danger in a battean among the cataracts 56
Mutiny of the ſoldiers for want of proviſions and pay 57
General Braddock's defeat, and miſconduct in that expedition - - - - 59
Arrival of 3000 French in Canada - - 60
Deſcription of New York - - - 61
Freſh incurſions and devaſtations of the ſavages 62
Many inſtances of their diabolical cruelty - 63
Scarooyada's ſpeech to the Aſſembly - - 64
The Author goes on an expedition againſt the Indians 67
Defence againſt the ſavages in Kennorton-head church - - - - - 68
Puſh through the Indians and retire with loſs - *ib.*
Reinforced by Gen. Frankland from Philadelphia 69
Further outrages by the ſavages, in which George Hunter, Eſq. and 16 of his family are burnt 70
Col. Armſtrong's expedition againſt them - 73
Capt. Jacobs, chief of the Delawares, and ſquaw killed *ib.*
Lieut. Hogg's bravery - - - *ib.*
The Author wounded at the Great Carrying-place 75
Skirmiſh with a body of Indians near Oſwego 77
An Iriſhman ſcalped when drunk, yet recovered *ib.*
The French diſcovered coming to attack Oſwego 82
Trenches opened before Fort Ontario - - 83
The fort abandoned by the Engliſh - - 84
Preparations to attack the Old Fort - - 85
The brave Colonel Mercer killed - - 86
Surrender of the fort and garriſon, with the articles 87
Cruelty of the Indians on that occaſion - 88
The Engliſh conducted by Montreal to Quebec 89
Bad conſequences of the loſs of Oſwego - - 91

A full

A full account of the Indians, their manner of
ib. living, fighting, &c. - - 93
Advantage of the Engliſh in maintaining friendſhip
43 with them - - - 97
46 Their complaints againſt the fraudulent dealings of
47 the traders - - - 98
48 Methods ſuggeſted for removing theſe complaints 100
49
53
56 I. Account of the Britiſh Settlements in
57 North America.
59 Deſcription of New-England, its ſoil, produce,
60 trade, &c. - - - 101
61 ——— of New-York, &c. - 102
62 ——— of Penſylvania, &c. - 103
63 ——— of Maryland, &c. - 105
64 ——— of Virginia, &c. - - 106
67 ——— of Carolina, &c. - - 107
——— of Nova-Scotia, &c. - 108
68 ——— of Canada, &c. - - ib.
ib. The embarkation at Quebec for England 109
69
70 III. A Diſcourſe on Kidnapping.
73 The Author's arrival at Aberdeen in queſt of his
ib. relations - - - - 111
ib. Proſecution of the Magiſtrates againſt him - ib.
75 His books ſeized and burnt hy the Hangman 112
77 Put in confinement till he ſubſcribed a recantation ib.
ib. The Magiſtrates judge in their own complaint 113
82 Improbability that they could be ignorant of the
83 practice of Kidnapping - - 113, 114
84 Proof of that practice by a cloud of Witneſſes 115
85 Depoſition of Alexander King - - ib.
86 ——— of John Wilſon - - 116
87 ——— of Francis Fraſer, Eſq. - ib.
88 ——— of Robert Reid - - 117
89 ——— of Iſabel Wilſon - - - 117
91 ——— of Margaret Reid - - - 118

full

Depoſition of George Johnſton - - 119
——— of Alexander Grigerſon - 120
——— of Margaret Roſs - - - 121
——— of William Jamieſon - - - 124
——— of George Leſlie - - 127
——— of Chriſtian Finlater - - *ib.*
——— of Robert Brand - - 128
——— of George Mackie - - *ib.*
——— of James Rattray - - - 129
——— of George Garioch - - - 130
——— of Alexander Gordon - - - 132
——— of Alexander Gray - - 133
——— of Helen Law - - - - *ib.*
——— of James Robertſon - - 135
——— of James Smith - - - 136
——— of Walter Cochran - - - 137
——— of William Gibſon - - - 138
——— of John Dickſon - - *ib.*
Wickedneſs of the practice of Kidnapping expoſed 140
Queries concerning the lawfulneſs of it - 141
Account of the various ſtratagems uſed to inveigle children - - - - 142
The manner of diſpoſing of them abroad - 143
The uſage they receive from the planters - 144
Bad character of thoſe who voluntarily indent themſelves - - - - 145
Advantages which artificers, &c. may reap in ſettling there - - - - 146

IV. Hiſtory of the Proceſs between the Author and Magiſtrates of Aberdeen.

Inſtitution and authority of Magiſtrates - 147
Irregularity of their proceedings - - 148
The Author applied for redreſs - - 149
Interlocutor of the Court of Seſſion - - 150
Letter from two of the Bailies of Aberdeen 151
Happineſs of a country where law and juſtice prevail 154
Deſign of publiſhing this narrative - - 155
Particular deſcription of the Indian Tomahawk *ib.*

FRENCH

FRENCH AND INDIAN CRUELTY.

THE reader is not here to expect a large and uſeleſs detail of the tranſactions of late years, in that part of the world, where, ever ſince my infancy, it has been my misfortune to have lived. Was it in my power, indeed, to ſet off with pompous diction, and embelliſh with artificial deſcriptions, what has ſo engroſſed the attention of Europe, as well as the ſcenes of action for ſome years paſt, perhaps I might; but my poor pen, being wholly unfit for ſuch a taſk, and never otherwiſe employed than juſt for my own affairs and amuſement, while I had the pleaſure of living tranquil and undiſturbed, I muſt beg leave to deſiſt from ſuch an attempt; and, if ſuch is expected from me, claim the indulgence of that pardon which is never refuſed to thoſe incapacitated of performing what may be deſired of them. And, as a plain, impartial, and ſuccinct narrative of my own life, and various viciſſitudes of fortune, is all I ſhall aim at, I ſhall herein confine myſelf to plain ſimple truth, and, in the dictates reſulting from an honeſt heart, give the reader no other entertainment than what ſhall be matter of fact; and of ſuch things as have actually happened to me, or come to my own knowledge, in the ſphere of life in which it has been my lot to be placed. Not but I hope I may be allowed, now and then, to carry on

my

my narrative from the informations I have received of ſuch things as relate to my deſign, though they have not been done or tranſacted in my preſence.

It being uſual in narratives like this, to give a ſhort account of the Author's birth, education, and juvenile exploits, the ſame being looked upon as neceſſary, or at leaſt a ſatisfactory piece of information to the curious and inquiſitive reader; I ſhall, without boaſting of a family I am no way entitled to, or recounting adventures in my youth to which I was entirely a ſtranger, in a ſhort manner gratify ſuch curioſity; not expecting, as I ſaid before, to be admired for that elegance of ſtyle, and profuſion of words, ſo univerſally made uſe of in details and hiſtories of thoſe adventurers, who have of late years obliged the world with their anecdotes and memoirs; and which have had ſcarce any other exiſtence than in the brains of a bookſeller's or printer's Garreteer; who, from fewer incidents, and leſs ſurpriſing matter, than will be found in this ſhort narrative, have been, and are daily enabled, to ſpin and work out their elaborate performances to three or four volumes. That I, like them, publiſh this for ſupport, is true; but as I am too ſenſible, the major part of mankind will give much more to a bookſeller, to be in the faſhion, or ſatisfy their curioſity, in having or reading a new puffed-up hiſtory or novel, than to a real object of diſtreſs, for an accurate and faithful account of a ſeries of misfortunes, I have thought it more adviſeable to confine myſelf as to ſize and price, than by making a larger volume, miſs that aſſiſtance and relief, of which I at preſent am in ſo great need.

Know, therefore, that I was born in Hirnlay, in the pariſh of Aboyne, and county of Aberdeen, North Britain,

ritain, if not of rich, yet of reputable parents, ho ſupported me in the beſt manner they could, as ng as they had the happineſs of having me under eir inſpection: but fatally for me, and to their reat grief, as it afterwards proved, I was ſent to ve with an aunt at Aberdeen; when, under the years f pupillarity, playing on the quay, with others of y companions, being of a ſtout robuſt conſtitu- on, I was taken notice of by two fellows belong- g to a veſſel in the harbour, employed (as the ade then was), by ſome of the worthy merchants of e town, in that villanous and execrable practice alled Kidnapping; that is, ſtealing young children om their parents, and ſelling them as ſlaves in the lantations abroad. Being marked out by thoſe onſters of impiety as their prey, I was cajoled on oard the ſhip by them, where I was no ſooner got, han they conducted me between the decks, to ſome thers they had kidnapped in the ſame manner. At hat time, I had no ſenſe of the fate that was de- tined for me, and ſpent the time in childiſh amuſe- ents with my fellow-ſufferers in the ſteerage, be- ng never ſuffered to go upon deck whilſt the veſſel ay in the harbour; which was until ſuch a time as ey had got in their loading, with a complement f unhappy youths for carrying on their wicked ommerce.

In about a month's time the ſhip ſet ſail for America. The treatment we met with, and the rifling incidents which happened during the voy- ge, I hope I may be excuſed from relating, as not being, at that time, of an age ſufficient to re- mark any thing more than what muſt occur to every ne on ſuch an occaſion. However, I cannot for- get, that, when we arrived on the coaſt we were deſtined for, a hard gale of wind ſprung up from he S. E. and, to the captain's great ſurpriſe (he

not

not thinking he was near land), although having been eleven weeks on the paſſage, about twelve o'clock at night the ſhip ſtruck on a ſand-bank, off Cape May, near the capes of Delaware, and, to the great terror and affright of the ſhip's company, in a ſhort time was almoſt full of water. The boat was then hoiſted out, into which the captain, and his fellow-villains, the crew, got with ſome difficulty, leaving me, and my deluded companions, to periſh; as they then naturally concluded inevitable death to be our fate. Often, in my diſtreſſes and miſeries ſince, have I wiſhed that ſuch had been the conſequence, when in a ſtate of innocence! But Providence thought proper to reſerve me for future trials of its goodneſs. Thus abandoned and deſerted, without the leaſt proſpect of relief, but threatened every moment with death, did theſe villains leave us. The cries, the ſhrieks, and tears of a parcel of infants, had no effect on, or cauſed the leaſt remorſe in the breaſts of theſe mercileſs wretches. Scarce can I ſay, to which to give the preference; whether to ſuch as theſe, who have had the opportunity of knowing the Chriſtian religion, or to the ſavages herein after deſcribed, who profane not the goſpel, or boaſt of humanity; and if they act in a more brutal and butcherly manner, yet it is to their enemies, for the ſake of plunder and the rewards offered them, for their principles are alike; the love of ſordid gain being both their motives. The ſhip being on a ſand-bank, which did not give way to let her deeper, we lay in the ſame deplorable condition until morning, when, though we ſaw the land of Cape May, at about a mile's diſtance, we knew not what would be our fate.

The wind at length abated, and the captain (unwilling to loſe all her cargo), about 10 o'clock, ſent ſome

ſome of his crew in a boat to the ſhip's ſide to bring us on ſhore, where we lay in a ſort of a camp, made of the ſails of the veſſel and ſuch other things as they could get. The proviſions laſted us until we were taken in by a veſſel bound to Philadelphia, lying on this iſland, as well as I can recollect, near three weeks. Very little of the cargo was ſaved undamaged, and the veſſel entirely loſt.

When arrived and landed at Philadelphia, the capital of Penſylvania, the captain had ſoon people enough who came to buy us. He making the moſt of his villanous loading, after his diſaſter, ſold us at about 16*l. per* head. What became of my unhappy companions, I never knew; but it was my lot to be ſold to one of my countrymen, whoſe name was Hugh Wilſon, a North Briton, for the term of ſeven years, who had in his youth undergone the ſame fate as myſelf; having been kidnapped from St Johnſtown, in Scotland. As I ſhall often have occaſion to mention Philadelphia during the courſe of my adventures, I ſhall, in this place, give a ſhort and conciſe deſcription of the fineſt city in America, and one of the beſt laid out in the world.

This city would have been a capital fit for an empire had it been built and inhabited according to the proprietor's plan. Conſidering its late foundation, it is a large city, and moſt commodiouſly ſituated between Delaware and Schuylkill, two navigable rivers. The former being two miles broad, and navigable 300 miles for ſmall veſſels. It extends in length two miles from one river to the other. There are eight long ſtreets two miles in length, cut at right angles by ſixteen others, of one mile in length, all ſtraight and ſpacious. The houſes are ſtately, very numerous (being near 3000), and ſtill increaſing, and all carried on regularly according

to

to the firſt plan. It has two fronts to the water, one on the eaſt ſide facing the Schuylkill, and that on the weſt facing the Delaware. The Schuylkill being navigable 800 miles above the falls, the eaſtern part is moſt populous, where the warehouſes, ſome three ſtories high, and wharfs are numerous and convenient. All the houſes have large orchards and gardens belonging to them. The merchants that reſide here are numerous and wealthy, many of them keeping their coaches, &c. In the centre of the city there is a ſpace of ten acres, whereon are built the ſtate-houſe, market-houſe, and ſchool-houſe. The former is built of brick, and has a priſon under it. The ſtreets have their names from the ſeveral ſorts of timber common in Penſylvania; as Mulberry-ſtreet, Saſſafras-ſtreet, Cheſnut-ſtreet, Beech-ſtreet, and Cedar-ſtreet. The oldeſt church is Chriſt-church, and has a numerous congregation; but the major part of the inhabitants, being at firſt Quakers, ſtill continue ſo, who have ſeveral meeting-houſes, and may not improperly be called the church as by law eſtabliſhed, being the originals. The quay is beautiful, and 200 feet ſquare, to which a ſhip of 200 tons may lay her broad-ſide. As the advantages this city may boaſt of, has rendered it one of the beſt trading towns out of the Britiſh empire; ſo in all probability it will increaſe in commerce and riches, if not prevented by party, faction, and religious feuds, which of late years have made it ſuffer conſiderably. The aſſemblies and courts of judicature are held here, as in all capitals. The French have no city like it in all America.

Happy was my lot in falling into my countryman's power, as he was, contrary to many others of his calling, a humane, worthy, honeſt man. Having no children of his own, and commiſerating

my unhappy condition, he took great care of me until I was fit for buſineſs; and about the 12th year of my age, ſet me about little trifles; in which ſtate I continued until my 14th year, when I was more fit for harder work. During ſuch my idle ſtate, ſeeing my fellow-ſervants often reading and writing, it incited in me an inclination to learn, which I intimated to my maſter, telling him, I ſhould be very willing to ſerve a year longer than the contract by which I was bound, if he would indulge me in going to ſchool; this he readily agreed to, ſaying, that winter would be the beſt time. It being then ſummer, I waited with impatience for the other ſeaſon; but to make ſome progreſs in my deſign, I got a Primer, and learned as much from my fellow-ſervants as I could. At ſchool, where I went every winter for five years, I made a tolerable proficiency, and have ever ſince been improving myſelf at leiſure-hours. With this good maſter I continued till I was ſeventeen years old, when he died; and, as a reward for my faithful ſervice, left me 200 *l.* currency, which was then about 120 *l.* Sterling, his beſt horſe, ſaddle, and all his wearing apparel.

Being now my own maſter, having money in my pocket, and all other neceſſaries, I employed myſelf in jobbing about the country, working for any that would employ me, for near ſeven years; when thinking I had money ſufficient to follow ſome better way of life, I reſolved to ſettle; but thought one ſtep neceſſary thereto, was to be married; for which purpoſe, I applied to the daughter of a ſubſtantial planter, and found my ſuit was not unacceptable to her or her father, ſo that matters were ſoon concluded upon, and we married. My father-in-law, in order to eſtabliſh us in the world, in an eaſy, if not affluent manner, made me a deed of gift, of a track of land, that lay (unhappily for me,

as it has ſince proved) on the frontiers of the province of Penſylvania, near the forks of Delaware, in Berks county, containing about 200 acres, 30 of which were well cleared, and fit for immediate uſe, whereon was a good houſe and barn. The place pleaſing me well, I ſettled on it; and though it coſt me the major part of my money, in buying ſtock, houſehold-furniture, and implements for out-door work; and happy as I was in a good wife, yet did my felicity laſt me not long: For about the year 1754, the Indians in the French intereſt, who had for a long time before ravaged and deſtroyed other parts of America unmoleſted, I may very properly ſay, began to be very troubleſome on the frontiers of our province, where they generally appeared in ſmall ſkulking parties, with yellings, ſhoutings, and antic poſtures, inſtead of trumpets and drums, committing great devaſtations. The Penſylvanians little imagined at firſt, that the Indians, guilty of ſuch outrages and violences, were ſome of thoſe who pretended to be in the Engliſh intereſt; which, alas! proved to be too true to many of us: For, like the French in Europe, without regard to faith or treaties, they ſuddenly break out into furious, rapid outrages and devaſtations, but ſoon retire precipitately, having no ſtores or proviſions but what they meet with in their incurſions; ſome indeed carry a bag with biſcuit, or Indian corn therein, but not unleſs they have a long march to their deſtined place of action. And thoſe French, who were ſent to diſpoſſeſs us in that part of the world, being indefatigable in their duty, and continually contriving, and uſing all manner of ways and means to win the Indians to their intereſt, many of whom had been too negligent, and ſometimes, I may ſay, cruelly treated by thoſe who pretend to be their protectors and friends, found it no very difficult matter to get over to their intereſt, many who belonged to thoſe nations

tions in amity with us, eſpecially as the rewards they gave them were ſo great, they paying for every ſcalp of an Engliſh perſon 15 *l.* Sterling.

Terrible and ſhocking to human nature were the barbarities daily committed by the ſavages, and are not to be paralleled in all the volumes of hiſtory! Scarce did a day paſs but ſome unhappy family or other fell victims to *French chicanery* and ſavage cruelty. Terrible indeed it proved to me, as well as to many others; I that was now happy in an eaſy ſtate of life, bleſſed with an affectionate and tender wife, who was poſſeſſed of all amiable qualities, to enable me to go through this world with that peace and ſerenity of mind, which every Chriſtian wiſhes to poſſeſs, became on a ſudden one of the moſt unhappy and deplorable of mankind; ſcarce can I ſuſtain the ſhock which for ever recoils on me, at thinking on the laſt time of ſeeing that good woman. The fatal 2d of October 1754, ſhe that day went from home to viſit ſome of her relations; as I ſtaid up later than uſual, expecting her return, none being in the houſe beſides myſelf, how great was my ſurpriſe, terror, and affright, when, about 11 o'clock at night I heard the diſmal war-cry, or war-whoop of the ſavages, which they make on ſuch occaſions, and may be expreſſed, *Woach, woach, ha, ha, hach, woach*, and to my inexpreſſible grief, ſoon found my houſe was attacked by them; I flew to the chamber-window, and perceived them to be twelve in number. They making ſeveral attempts to come in, I aſked them what they wanted? They gave me no anſwer, but continued beating, and trying to get the door open. Judge then the condition I muſt be in, knowing the cruelty and mercileſs diſpoſition of thoſe ſavages ſhould I fall into their hands. To eſcape which dreadful misfortune, having my gun loaded in my hand, I threatened them with death, if they ſhould not deſiſt. But how

vain and fruitleſs are the efforts of one man againſt the united force of ſo many! and of ſuch mercileſs, undaunted, and blood-thirſty monſters as I had here to deal with. One of them that could ſpeak a little Engliſh, threatened me in return, "That if I did "not come out, they would burn me alive in the "houſe;" telling me farther, what I unhappily perceived, "That they were no friends to the Eng-"liſh, but if I would come out, and ſurrender my-"ſelf priſoner, they would not kill me." My terror and diſtraction at hearing this is not to be expreſſed by words, nor eaſily imagined by any perſon, unleſs in the ſame condition. Little could I depend on the promiſes of ſuch creatures; and yet, if I did not, inevitable death, by being burnt alive, muſt be my lot. Diſtracted as I was in ſuch deplorable circumſtances, I choſe to rely on the uncertainty of their fallacious promiſes, rather than meet with certain death by rejecting them; and accordingly went out of my houſe with my gun in my hand, not knowing what I did, or that I had it. Immediately on my approach, they ruſhed on me like ſo many tigers, and inſtantly diſarmed me. Having me thus in their power, the mercileſs villains bound me to a tree near the door: they then went into the houſe, and plundered and deſtroyed every thing there was in it, carrying off what moveables they could; the reſt, together with the houſe, which they ſet fire to, was conſumed before my eyes. The barbarians, not ſatisfied with this, ſet fire to my barn, ſtable, and out-houſes, wherein were about 200 buſhels of wheat, ſix cows, four horſes, and five ſheep, which underwent the ſame fate, being all entirely conſumed to aſhes. During the conflagration, to deſcribe the thoughts, the fears, and miſery that I felt, is utterly impoſſible, as it is even now to mention what I feel at the remembrance thereof.

Having

Having thus finiſhed the execrable buſineſs about which they came, one of the monſters came to me with a *tomahawk* * in his hand, threatening me with the worſt of deaths, if I would not willingly go with them, and be contented with their way of living. This I ſeemingly agreed to, promiſing to do every thing for them that lay in my power; truſting to Providence for the time when I might be delivered out of their hands. Upon this they untied me, and gave me a great load to carry on my back, under which I travelled all that night with them, full of the moſt terrible apprehenſions, and oppreſſed with the greateſt anxiety of mind, leſt my unhappy wife ſhould likewiſe have fallen a prey to theſe cruel monſters. At day-break, my infernal maſters ordered me to lay down my load, when tying my hands again round a tree with a ſmall cord, they forced the blood out of my finger-ends. They then kindled a fire near the tree whereto I was bound, which filled me with the moſt dreadful agonies, concluding I was going to be made a ſacrifice to their barbarity.

This narrative, O reader! may ſeem dry and tedious to you: My miſeries and misfortunes, great as they have been, may be conſidered only as what others have daily met with for years paſt; yet, on reflection, you can't help indulging me in the recital of them: For to the unfortunate and diſtreſſed, recounting our miſeries, is, in ſome ſort, an alleviation of them.

Permit me therefore to proceed; not by recounting to you the deplorable condition I then was in,

* A TOMAHAWK is a kind of hatchet, made ſomething like our plaſterer's hammers, about two feet long, handle and all. To take up the hatchet (or TOMAHAWK) among them, is to declare war. They generally uſe it after firing their guns, by ruſhing on their enemies, and fracturing or cleaving their ſculls with it, and very ſeldom fail of killing at the firſt blow.

for that is more than can be deſcribed to you, by one who thought of nothing leſs than being immediately put to death in the moſt excruciating manner theſe devils could invent. The fire being thus made, they, for ſome time, danced round me after their manner, with various odd motions and antic geſtures, whooping, hollowing, and crying in a frightful manner, as it is their cuſtom. Having ſatisfied themſelves in this ſort of their mirth, they proceeded in a more tragical manner; taking the burning coals and ſticks, flaming with fire at the ends, holding them near my face, head, hands, and feet, with a deal of monſtrous pleaſure and ſatisfaction; and, at the ſame time, threatening to burn me entirely, if I made the leaſt noiſe, or cried out. Thus tortured as I was, almoſt to death, I ſuffered their brutal pleaſure without being allowed to vent my inexpreſſible anguiſh, otherwiſe than by ſhedding ſilent tears; even which, when theſe inhuman tormentors obſerved, with a ſhocking pleaſure and alacrity, they would take freſh coals, and apply near my eyes, telling me my face was wet, and that they would dry it for me, which indeed they cruelly did. How I underwent theſe tortures I have here faintly deſcribed, has been matter of wonder to me many times; but God enabled me to wait with more than common patience for a deliverance I daily prayed for.

Having at length ſatisfied their brutal pleaſure, they ſat down round the fire, and roaſted their meat, of which they had robbed my dwelling. When they had prepared it, and ſatisfied their voracious appetites, they offered ſome to me; though it is eaſily imagined I had but little appetite to eat, after the tortures and miſeries I had undergone; yet was I forced to ſeem pleaſed with what they offered me, leſt, by refuſing it, they had again re-aſſumed their helliſh practices. What I could not eat, I contrived

trived to get between the bark and the tree, where I was fixed, they having unbound my hands till they imagined I had eat all they gave me; but then they again bound me as before; in which deplorable condition was I forced to continue all that day. When the ſun was ſet, they put out the fire, and covered the aſhes with leaves, as is their uſual cuſtom, that the white people might not diſcover any traces or ſigns of their having been there.

Thus had theſe barbarous wretches finiſhed their firſt diabolical piece of work; and ſhocking as it may ſeem to the humane Engliſh heart, yet what I underwent was but trifling, in compariſon to the torments and miſeries which I was afterwards an eye-witneſs of being inflicted on others of my unhappy fellow-creatures.

Going from thence along by the river Suſquehana for the ſpace of ſix miles, loaded as I was before, we arrived at a ſpot near the Apalachian mountains, or Blue-Hills, where they hid their plunder under logs of wood.—And, oh, ſhocking to relate! from thence did theſe helliſh monſters proceed to a neighbouring houſe, occupied by one Jacob Snider, and his unhappy family, conſiſting of his wife, five children, and a young man his ſervant. They ſoon got admittance into the unfortunate man's houſe, where they immediately, without the leaſt remorſe, and with more than brutal cruelty, *ſcalped* * the

* SCALPING, is taking off the ſkin from the top of the head; which they perform with a long knife that they hang round their neck, and always carry with them. They cut the ſkin round as much of the head as they think proper, ſometimes quite round from the neck and forehead, then take it in their fingers and pluck it off, and often leave the unhappy creatures, ſo ſerved, to die in a moſt miſerable manner. Some, who are not cut too deep in the temples or ſcull, live in horrid torments many hours, and ſometimes a day or two after. The ſcalps, or ſkins thus taken off, they preſerve and carry home in triumph, where they receive, as is ſaid before, a conſiderable ſum for every one.

tender

tender parents and the unhappy children: Nor could the tears, the ſhrieks, or cries of theſe unhappy victims prevent their horrid maſſacre: For having thus ſcalped them, and plundered the houſe of every thing that was moveable, they ſet fire to the ſame, where the poor creatures met their final doom amidſt the flames, the helliſh miſcreants ſtanding at the door, or as near the houſe as the flames would permit them, rejoicing, and echoing back in their diabolical manner, the piercing cries, heart-rending groans, and paternal and affectionate ſoothings, which iſſued from this moſt horrid ſacrifice of an innocent family. Sacrifice! I think I may properly call it, to the aggrandizing the ambition of a king, who wrongly ſtyles himſelf *Moſt Chriſtian!* For, had theſe ſavages been never tempted with the alluring bait of all-powerful gold, myſelf as well as hundreds of others, might ſtill have lived moſt happily in our ſtations. If Chriſtians countenance, nay, hire thoſe wretches, to live in a continual repetition of plunder, rapine, murder, and conflagration, in vain are miſſionaries ſent, or ſums expended for the propagation of the goſpel. But theſe ſentiments, with many others, muſt, before the end of this narrative, occur to every humane heart.——Therefore to proceed; not contented with what theſe infernals had already done, they ſtill continued their inordinate villany, in making a general conflagration of the barn and ſtables, together with all the corn, horſes, cows, and every thing on the place.

Thinking the young man belonging to this unhappy family would be of ſome ſervice to them, in carrying part of their helliſh acquired plunder, they ſpared his life, and loaded him and myſelf with what they had here got, and again marched to the Blue-Hills, where they ſtowed their goods as before. My fellow-ſufferer could not long bear the cruel treatment

ment which we were both obliged to ſuffer, and complaining bitterly to me of his being unable to proceed any farther, I endeavoured to condole him as much as lay in my power, to bear up under his afflictions, and wait with patience, till, by the divine aſſiſtance, we ſhould be delivered out of their clutches; but all in vain, for he ſtill continued his moans and tears, which one of the ſavages perceiving as we travelled on, inſtantly came up to us, and with his tomahawk, gave him a blow on the head, which felled the unhappy youth to the ground, where they immediately ſcalped and left him. The ſuddenneſs of this murder ſhocked me to that degree, that I was in a manner like a ſtatue, being quite motionleſs, expecting my fate would ſoon be the ſame: However, recovering my diſtracted thoughts, I diſſembled the uneaſineſs and anguiſh which I felt as well as I could from the barbarians, but ſtill, ſuch was the terror that I was under, that for ſome time I ſcarce knew the days of the week, or what I did; ſo that at this period, life indeed became a burden to me, and I regretted my being ſaved from my firſt perſecutors, the ſailors.

The horrid fact being completed, they kept on their courſe near the mountains, where they lay ſkulking four or five days, rejoicing at the plunder and ſtore they had got. When proviſions became ſcarce, they made their way towards Suſquehana; where, ſtill to add to the many barbarities they had already committed, paſſing near another houſe inhabited by an unhappy old man, whoſe name was John Adams, with his wife and four ſmall children; and, meeting with no reſiſtance, they immediately ſcalped the unhappy wife and her four children, before the good old man's eyes. Inhumane and horrid as this was, it did not ſatiate them; for when they had murdered the poor woman, they acted with her in ſuch a brutal manner, as decency, or

the

the remembrance of the crime, will not permit me to mention: and this even before the unhappy huſband, who, not being able to avoid the ſight, and incapable of affording her the leaſt relief, entreated them to put an end to his miſerable being: but they were as deaf, and regardleſs to the tears, prayers, and entreaties of this venerable ſufferer, as they had been to thoſe of the others, and proceeded in their helliſh purpoſe of burning and deſtroying his houſe, barn, corn, hay, cattle, and every thing the poor man a few hours before was maſter of. Having ſaved what they thought proper from the flames, they gave the old man, feeble, weak, and in the miſerable condition he then was, as well as myſelf, burdens to carry, and loading themſelves likewiſe with bread and meat, purſued their journey on towards the Great Swamp; where being arrived, they lay for eight or nine days, ſometimes diverting themſelves in exerciſing the moſt attrocious and barbarous cruelties on their unhappy victim, the old man: ſometimes they would ſtrip him naked, and paint him all over with various ſorts of colours, which they extracted, or made from herbs and roots: at other times they would pluck the white hairs from his venerable head, and tauntingly tell him, *He was a fool for living ſo long, and that they would ſhew him kindneſs in putting him out of the world;* to all which the poor creature could but vent his ſighs, his tears, his moans, and entreaties, that, to my affrighted imagination, were enough to penetrate a heart of adamant, and ſoften the moſt obdurate ſavage. In vain, alas! were all his tears, for daily did they tire themſelves with the various means they tried to torment him; ſometimes tying him to a tree, and whipping him; at others, ſcorching his furrowed cheeks with red-hot coals, and burning his legs, quite to the knees: but the good old man inſtead of repining, or wickedly arraigning

the

the divine juſtice, like many others in ſuch caſes, even in the greateſt agonies, inceſſantly offered up his prayers to the Almighty, with the moſt fervent thankſgivings for his former mercies, and hoping the flames, then ſurrounding and burning his aged limbs, would ſoon ſend him to the bliſsful manſions of the juſt, to be a partaker of the bleſſings there. And, during ſuch his pious ejaculations, his infernal plagues would come round him, mimicking his heart-rending groans, and piteous wailings. One night after he had been thus tormented, whilſt he and I were ſitting together condoling each other at the misfortunes and miſeries we daily ſuffered, twenty ſcalps and three priſoners were brought in by another party of Indians. They had unhappily fallen in their hands in Cannocojigge, a ſmall town near the river Suſquehana, chiefly inhabited by the Iriſh. Theſe priſoners gave us ſome ſhocking accounts of the murders and devaſtations committed in their parts. The various and complicated actions of theſe barbarians would entirely fill a large volume; but what I have already written, with a few other inſtances which I ſhall ſelect from their information, will enable the reader to gueſs at the horrid treatment the Engliſh, and Indians in their intereſt, ſuffered for many years paſt. I ſhall therefore only mention, in a brief manner, thoſe that ſuffered near the ſame time with myſelf. This party, who now joined us, had it not, I found, in their power to begin their wickedneſs as ſoon as thoſe who viſited my habitation; the firſt of their tragedies being on the 25th day of October 1754, when John Lewis, with his wife, and three ſmall children, fell ſacrifices to their cruelty, and were miſerably ſcalped and murdered; his houſe, barn, and every thing he poſſeſſed, being burnt and deſtroyed. On the 28th, Jacob Miller, with his wife and ſix of his family, together with every thing

thing on his plantation, underwent the ſame fate. The 30th, the houſe, mill, barn, twenty head of cattle, two teams of horſes, and every thing belonging to the unhappy George Folke, met with the like treatment; himſelf, wife, and all his miſerable family, conſiſting of nine in number, being inhumanly ſcalped, then cut in pieces, and given to the ſwine, which devoured them. I ſhall give another inſtance of the numberleſs and unheard of barbarities they related of theſe ſavages, and proceed to their own tragical end. In ſhort, one of the ſubſtantial traders belonging to the province, having buſineſs that called him ſome miles up the country, fell into the hands of theſe devils, who not only ſcalped him, but immediately roaſted him before he was dead; then, like cannibals for want of other food, eat his whole body, and of his head made what they called an Indian pudding.

From theſe few inſtances of ſavage cruelty, the deplorable ſituation of the defenceleſs inhabitants, and what they hourly ſuffered in that part of the globe, muſt ſtrike the utmoſt horror to a human ſoul, and cauſe in every breaſt the utmoſt deteſtation, not only againſt the authors of ſuch tragic ſcenes, but againſt thoſe who through perfidy, inattention, or puſillanimous and erroneous principles, ſuffered theſe ſavages at firſt, unrepelled, or even unmoleſted, to commit ſuch outrages and incredible depredations and murders: For no torments, no barbarities that can be exerciſed on the human ſacrifices they get into their power, are left untried or omitted.

The three priſoners that were brought with theſe additional forces, conſtantly repining at their lot, and almoſt dead with their exceſſive hard treatment, contrived at laſt to make their eſcape; but being far from their own ſettlements, and not knowing the

the country, were ſoon after met by ſome others of the tribes or nations at war with us, and brought back to their diabolical maſters, who greatly rejoiced at having them again in their infernal power. The poor creatures almoſt famiſhed for want of ſuſtenance, having had none during the time of their elopement, were no ſooner in the clutches of the barbarians, than two of them were tied to a tree, and a great fire made round them, where they remained till they were terribly ſcorched and burnt; when one of the villains, with his ſcalping knife, ript open their bellies, took out their entrails, and burnt them before their eyes, whilſt the others were cutting, piercing, and tearing the fleſh from their breaſts, hands, arms, and legs, with red hot irons, till they were dead. The third unhappy victim was reſerved a few hours longer, to be, if poſſible, ſacrificed in a more cruel manner; his arms were tied cloſe to his body, and a hole being dug deep enough for him to ſtand upright, he was put therein, and earth rammed and beat in all round his body up to his neck, ſo that his head only appeared above ground; they then ſcalped him, and there let him remain for three or four hours in the greateſt agonies; after which they made a ſmall fire near his head, cauſing him to ſuffer the moſt excruciating torments imaginable, whilſt the poor creature could only cry for mercy in killing him immediately, for his brains were boiling in his head: Inexorable to all his plaints, they continued the fire, whilſt, ſhocking to behold! his eyes guſhed out of their ſockets; and ſuch agonizing torments did the unhappy creature ſuffer for near two hours, till he was quite dead! They then cut off his head, and buried it with the other bodies; my taſk being to dig the graves, which, feeble and terrified as I was, the dread of ſuffering the ſame fate, enabled me to do. I ſhall not here take up the reader's time, in vainly

attempting to deſcribe what I felt on ſuch an occaſion, but continue my narrative, as more equal to my abilities.

A great ſnow now falling, the barbarians were a little fearful, leſt the white people ſhould, by their traces, find out their ſkulking retreats, which obliged them to make the beſt of their way to their winter-quarters, about 200 miles farther from any plantations, or inhabitants: where, after a long and tedious journey, being almoſt ſtarved, I arrived with this infernal crew. The place where we were to reſt, in their tongue, is called Alamingo. There we found a number of wigwams * full of their women and children. Dancing, ſinging, and ſhooting were their general amuſements; and in all their feſtivals and dances, they relate what ſucceſſes they have had, and what damages they have ſuſtained in their expeditions; in which I became part of their theme. The ſeverity of the cold increaſing, they ſtript me of my clothes for their own uſe, and gave me ſuch as they uſually wore themſelves, being a piece of blanket, a pair of *mogganes*, or ſhoes, with a yard of coarſe cloth, to put round me inſtead of breeches. To deſcribe their dreſs and manner of living may not be altogether unacceptable to ſome of my readers; but as the ſize of this book will not permit me to be ſo particular as I might otherwiſe be, I ſhall juſt obſerve,

That they in general wear a white blanket, which, in war-time, they paint with various figures; but particularly the leaves of trees, in order to deceive their enemies when in the woods. Their mogganes are made of deer-ſkins, and the beſt ſort have them

* WIGWAMS are the names they give their houſes, which are no more than little huts, made with three or four forked ſtakes drove into the ground, and covered with deer or other ſkins; or, for want of them, with large leaves and earth.

bound

bound round the edges with little beads and ribands. On their legs they wear pieces of blue cloth for ſtockings, ſomething like our ſoldiers ſpatterdaſhes; they reach higher than their knees, but not lower than their ancles; they eſteem them eaſy to run in. Breeches they never wear, but inſtead thereof two pieces of linen, one before, and another behind. The better ſort have ſhirts of the fineſt linen they can get, and to theſe ſome wear ruffles; but theſe they never put on till they have painted them of various colours, which they get from the Pecone root, and bark of trees, and never pull them off to waſh, but wear them till they fall to pieces. They are very proud, and take great delight in wearing trinkets; ſuch as ſilver plates round their wriſts and necks, with ſeveral ſtrings of wampum (which is made of cotton, interwove with pebbles, cockle-ſhells, *&c.*), down to their breaſts; and from their ears and noſes they have rings and beads, which hang dangling an inch or two. The men have no beards, to prevent which they uſe certain inſtruments and tricks as ſoon as it begins to grow. The hair of their heads is managed differently, ſome pluck out and deſtroy all, except a lock hanging from the crown of the head, which they interweave with wampum and feathers of various colours. The women wear it very long twiſted down their backs, with beads, feathers, and wampum; and on their heads moſt of them wear little coronets of braſs or copper; round their middle they wear a blanket inſtead of a petticoat. The females are very chaſte, and conſtant to their huſbands; and if any young maiden ſhould happen to have a child before marriage, ſhe is never eſteemed afterwards. As for their food they get it chiefly by hunting and ſhooting, and boil, broil, or roaſt all the meat they eat. Their ſtanding diſh conſiſts of Indian corn ſoaked, then bruiſed and boiled over a gentle fire, for ten

or twelve hours. Their bread is likewiſe made of wild oats, or ſun-flower ſeeds. Set meals they never regard, but eat when they are hungry. Their gun, tomahawk, ſcalping knife, powder and ſhot, are all they have to carry with them in time of war; bows and arrows being ſeldom uſed by them. They generally in war decline open engagements; buſh fighting or ſkulking is their diſcipline; and they are brave when engaged, having great fortitude in enduring tortures and death. No people have a greater love of liberty, or affection to their relations; but they are the moſt implacably vindictive people upon the earth, for they revenge the death of any relation, or any great affront, whenever occaſion preſents, let the diſtance of time or place be never ſo remote. To all which I may add, and what the reader has already obſerved, that they are inhumanly cruel. But, ſome other nations might be more happy, if, in ſome inſtances, they copied them, and made *wiſe conduct*, *courage*, *and perſonal ſtrength*, the *chief* recommendations for war-captains, or *werowances*, as they call them. In times of peace they viſit the plantations inhabited by the whites, to whom they ſell baſkets, ladles, ſpoons, and other ſuch trifles, which they are very expert in making. When night comes, if admitted into any houſe, they beg leave to lie down by the fire-ſide, chuſing that place rather than any other, which is ſeldom refuſed them, if ſober, for then they are honeſt; but if drunk, are very dangerous and troubleſome, if people enough are not in the houſe to quell them. Nor would they at any time be guilty of ſuch barbarous depredations as they are, did not thoſe calling themſelves Chriſtians, entice them thereto with ſtrong liquors, which they are vaſtly fond of; as well as by the pecuniary rewards which they give for the ſcalps. If ambition cannot be gratified, or ſuperiority obtained, otherwiſe

wiſe than by the death of thouſands, would it not, in thoſe who ſeek ſuch airy phantoms, and are ſo inordinately fond of their fellow-creatures lives, favour a little more of humanity to have them killed inſtantly, and, if they muſt have proofs of murder, ſcalped afterwards, than, by allowing and encouraging ſuch mercileſs treatment, render themſelves as obnoxious, cruel, and barbarous, to a humane mind, as the very ſavages themſelves?—However, they ſometimes ſuffer by their plots and chicanery laid for the deſtruction of others; it often happening that the traders or emiſſaries ſent to allure them to the exccution of their ſchemes, rightly fall victims themſelves; for, as they always carry with them horſe-loads of rum, which the Indians are fond of, they ſoon get drunk, quarrelſome, and wicked, and, in their fury, often kill and deſtroy their tempters: A juſt reward for their wicked deſigns! nay, it has ſuch an effect on them, that when ſo intoxicated, they even burn and conſume all their own effects, beating, wounding, and ſometimes killing their wives and children: But, in diſputes among themſelves when ſober, they are very tenacious of decorum, never allowing more than one to ſpeak at a time. Profane ſwearing they know not in their own language how to expreſs, but are very fond of the French and Engliſh oaths.

The old people, who are by age and infirmities rendered incapable of being ſerviceable to the community, they put out of the world in a barbarous and extraordinary manner; an inſtance of which I had, whilſt among them, an opportunity of ſeeing practiſed on an old Indian. He being, through age, feeble and weak, and his eyes failing him, ſo that he was unable to get his living either by hunting or ſhooting, was ſummoned to appear before ſeveral of the leading ones, who were to be his judges. Before whom being come, and having no-

thing to ſay for himſelf (as how indeed could he prove himſelf to be young?) they very formally, and with a ſeeming degree of compaſſion, paſſed ſentence on him to be put to death. This was ſoon after executed on him in the following manner: He was tied naked to a tree, and a boy, who was to be his executioner, ſtood ready with a tomahawk in his hands, to beat his brains out; but when the young monſter came to inflict the ſentence, he was ſo ſhort of ſtature, that he could not lift the tomahawk high enough; upon which he was held up by ſome others, a great concourſe being preſent; and then, though the young devil laid on with all his ſtrength, he was not for ſome time able to fracture the old man's ſcull, ſo that it was near an hour before he was dead.——Thus are they from their youth inured to barbarity!

When they found no remains of life in him, they put him into a hole dug in the ground for that purpoſe, in which he ſtood upright. Into his left-hand they put an old gun, and hung a ſmall powder-horn and ſhot-bag about his ſhoulder, and a ſtring of wampum round his neck; and into his right-hand a little ſilk purſe, with a bit of money in it; then filled the hole round, and covered him over with earth. This I found to be the uſual manner of treating the old of both ſexes; only that the women are killed by young girls, and put into the ground with nothing but a ladle in one hand, and a wooden diſh in the other.

They are very ſtrict in puniſhing offenders, eſpecially ſuch as commit crimes againſt any of the royal families. They never hang any; but thoſe ſentenced to death are generally bound to a ſtake, and a great fire made round them, but not ſo near as to burn them immediately; for they ſometimes remain roaſting in the middle of the flames for two or three days before they are dead.

After

After this long digreſſion, it is time to return to the detail of my own affairs.—At Alamingo was I kept near two months, until the ſnow was off the ground. A long time to be amongſt ſuch creatures, and naked as I almoſt was! Whatever thoughts I might have of making my eſcape, to carry them into execution was impracticable, being ſo far from any plantations or white people, and the ſevere weather rendering my limbs in a manner quite ſtiff and motionleſs; however, I contrived to defend myſelf againſt the inclemency of the weather as well as I could, by making myſelf a little wigwam, with the bark of the trees, covering the ſame with earth, which made it reſemble a cave; and, to prevent the ill effects of the cold which penetrated into it, I was forced to keep a good fire always near the door.

Thus did I for near two months endure ſuch hardſhips of cold and hunger as had hitherto been unknown to me. My liberty of going about was, indeed more than I could have expected, but they well knew the impracticability of my eloping from them. Seeing me outwardly eaſy and ſubmiſſive, they would ſometimes give me a little meat, but my chief food was Indian corn, dreſſed as I have above deſcribed. Notwithſtanding ſuch their civility, the time paſſed ſo tedious on, that I almoſt began to deſpair of ever regaining my liberty, or ſeeing my few relations again; which, with the anxiety and pain I ſuffered on account of my dear wife, often gave me inexpreſſible concern.

At length the time arrived when they were preparing themſelves for another expedition againſt the planters and white people; but before they ſet out, they were joined by many other Indians from Fort Du Queſne, well ſtored with powder and ball they had received from the French.

As ſoon as the ſnow was quite gone, and no traces of their vile foot-ſteps could be perceived, they ſet forth on their journey towards the back parts of the province of Penſylvania, leaving their wives and children behind in their wigwams. They were now a terrible and formidable body, amounting to near 150. My duty was to carry what they thought proper to load me with, but they never intruſted me with a gun. We marched on ſeveral days without any thing particular occurring, almoſt famiſhed for want of proviſions; for my part I had nothing but a few ſtalks of Indian corn, which I was glad to eat dry: Nor did the Indians themſelves fare much better, for as we drew near the plantations, they were afraid to kill any game, leſt the noiſe of their guns ſhould alarm the inhabitants.

When we again arrived at the Blue Hills, about 30 miles from Cannocojigge, the Iriſh ſettlement before mentioned, we encamped for three days, though God knows we had neither tents, nor any thing elſe to defend us from the inclemency of the air, having nothing to lie on by night but the graſs. Their uſual method of lodging, pitching, or encamping, by night, being in parcels of ten or twelve men to a fire, where they lie upon the graſs or buſhes, wrapt up in a blanket, with their feet to the fire.

During our ſtay here, a ſort of council of war was held, when it was agreed to divide themſelves into companies of about twenty men each; after which every captain marched with his party where he thought proper. I ſtill belonged to my old maſters, but was left behind on the mountains with ten Indians, to ſtay until the reſt ſhould return; not thinking it proper to carry me nearer the Cannocojigge, or the other plantations.

Here being left, I began to meditate on my eſcape; and though I knew the country round extremely well, having been often thereabouts with my

my companions, hunting deer, and other beaſts, yet was I very cautious of giving the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſuch my intention. However, the third day after the grand body left us, my companions or keepers thought proper to viſit the mountains in ſearch of game for their ſubſiſtence, leaving me bound in ſuch a manner that I could not eſcape: At night, when they returned, having unbound me, we all ſat down together to ſupper on two polecats, being what they had killed, and ſoon after (being greatly fatigued with their day's excurſion) they compoſed themſelves to reſt as uſual. Obſerving them to be in that ſomniferous ſtate, I tried various ways to ſee whether it was a ſcheme to prove my intentions or not; but after making a noiſe, and walking about, ſometimes touching them with my feet, I found there was no fallacy. My heart then exulted with joy at ſeeing a time come that I might in all probability be delivered from my captivity, but this joy was ſoon damped by the dread of being diſcovered by them, or taken by any ſtraggling parties. To prevent which, I reſolved, if poſſible, to get one of their guns, and, if diſcovered, to die in my defence rather than be taken; for that purpoſe, I made various efforts to get one from under their heads (where they always ſecured them), but in vain. Fruſtrated in this my firſt eſſay towards regaining my liberty, I dreaded the thoughts of carrying my deſign into execution: yet, after a little conſideration, and truſting myſelf to the divine protection, I ſet forwards naked and defenceleſs as I was. A raſh and dangerous enterpriſe! Such was my terror, however, that in going from them I halted and pauſed every four or five yards, looking fearfully towards the ſpot where I had left them, leſt they ſhould awake and miſs me; but when I was about two hundred yards from them, I mended my pace, and made as much haſte as I could to the

foot

foot of the mountains; when on a ſudden I was ſtruck with the greateſt terror and amaze at hearing the wood-cry, as it is called, and may be expreſſed *Jo hau! Jo hau!* which the ſavages I had left were making, accompanied with the moſt hideous cries and howlings they could utter. The bellowing of lions, the ſhrieks of hyenas, or the roarings of tigers, would have been muſic to my ears, in compariſon to the ſounds that then ſaluted them. They having now miſſed their charge, I concluded that they would ſoon ſeparate themſelves, and hie in queſt of me. The more my terror increaſed, the faſter did I puſh on, and ſcarce knowing where I trode, drove through the woods with the utmoſt precipitation, ſometimes falling and bruiſing myſelf, cutting my feet and legs againſt the ſtones in a miſerable manner; but, though faint and maimed, I continued my flight until break of day, when, without having any thing to ſuſtain nature but a little corn left, I crept into a hollow tree, in which I lay very ſnug, and returned my prayers and thanks to the Divine Being, that had thus far favoured my eſcape. But my repoſe was in a few hours deſtroyed at hearing the voices of the ſavages near the place where I was hid, threatening and talking how they would uſe me, if they got me again; that I was before too ſenſible of, to have the leaſt reſt either in body or mind ſince I had left them. However, they at laſt left the ſpot where I heard them, and I remained in my circular aſylum all that day without further moleſtation.

At night I ventured forwards again, frightened and trembling at every buſh I paſt, thinking each twig that touched me to be a ſavage. The third day I concealed myſelf in the like manner, and at night I travelled on in the ſame deplorable condition, keeping off the main road uſed by the Indians as much as poſſible, which made my journey many miles

miles longer, and more painful and irkſome than I can expreſs. But how ſhall I deſcribe the fear, terror, and ſhock, that I felt on the fourth night, when, by the ruſtling I made among the leaves, a party of Indians, that lay round a ſmall fire, which I did not perceive, ſtarted from the ground, and ſeizing their arms, run from the fire amongſt the woods. Whether to move forward, or to reſt where I was, I knew not, ſo diſtracted was my imagination. In this melancholy ſtate, revolving in my thoughts the now inevitable fate I thought waited on me, to my great conſternation and joy, I was relieved by a parcel of ſwine that made towards the place I gueſſed the ſavages to be; who, on ſeeing the hogs, conjectured that their alarm had been occaſioned by them, and very merrily returned to the fire, and lay down to ſleep as before. As ſoon as I perceived my enemies ſo diſpoſed of, with more cautious ſtep and ſilent tread, I purſued my courſe, ſweating (though winter, and ſeverely cold) with the fear I had juſt been relieved from. Bruiſed, cut, mangled, and terrified as I was, I ſtill, through the divine aſſiſtance, was enabled to purſue my journey until break of day, when thinking myſelf far off from any of thoſe miſcreants I ſo much dreaded, I lay down under a great log, and ſlept undiſturbed until about noon, when getting up, I reached the ſummit of a great hill with ſome difficulty, and looking out if I could ſpy any inhabitants of white people, to my unutterable joy I ſaw ſome, which I gueſſed to be about ten miles diſtance.

This pleaſure was in ſome meaſure abated, by my not being able to get among them that night; therefore, when evening approached, I again recommended myſelf to the Almighty, and compoſed my weary mangled limbs to reſt. In the morning, as ſoon as I awoke, I continued my journey towards the neareſt cleared lands I had ſeen the day before,

before, and about four o'clock in the afternoon arrived at the houſe of John Bell, an old acquaintance, where, knocking at the door, his wife, who opened it, ſeeing me in ſuch a frightful condition, flew from me like lightning, ſcreaming into the houſe. This alarmed the whole family, who immediately fled to their arms, and I was ſoon accoſted by the maſter with his gun in his hand. But on my aſſuring him of my innocence as to any wicked intentions, and making myſelf known (for he before took me to be an Indian), he immediately careſſed me, as did alſo his family, with a deal of friendſhip, at finding me alive; they having all been informed of my being murdered by the ſavages ſome months before. No longer now able to ſupport my fatigued and worn-out ſpirts, I fainted and fell to the ground. From which ſtate having recovered me, and perceiving the weak and famiſhed condition I then was in, they ſoon gave me ſome refreſhment, but let me partake of it very ſparingly, fearing the ill effects too much at once would have on me. They for two or three nights very affectionately ſupplied me with all neceſſaries, and carefully attended me until my ſpirits and limbs were pretty well recruited, and I thought myſelf able to ride, when I borrowed of theſe good people (whoſe kindneſs merits my moſt grateful return) a horſe and ſome clothes, and ſet forward for my father-in-law's houſe in Cheſter county, about 140 miles from thence, where I arrived on the 4th day of January 1755; but ſcarce one of the family could credit their eyes, believing, with the people I had lately left, that I had fallen a prey to the Indians.

Great was the joy and ſatisfaction wherewith I was received and embraced by the whole family; but, oh, what was my anguiſh and trouble, when on inquiring for my dear wife, I found ſhe had been dead near two months! This fatal news, as every humane

mane reader muſt imagine, greatly leſſened the joy and rapture I otherwiſe ſhould have felt at my deliverance from the dreadful ſtate and captivity I had been in.

The news of my happy arrival at my father-in-law's houſe, after ſo long and ſtrange an abſence, was ſoon ſpread round the neighbouring plantations, by the country people who continually viſited me, being very deſirous of hearing and eagerly inquiring an account of my treatment and manner of living among the Indians; in all which I ſatisfied them. Soon after this my arrival, I was ſent for by his excellency Mr. Morris, the governor, a worthy gentleman, who examined me very particularly as to all incidents relating to my captivity, and eſpecially in regard to the Indians, who had firſt taken me away, whether they were French or Engliſh parties. I aſſured his excellency they were of thoſe who profeſſed themſelves to be friends of the former; and informed him of the many barbarous and inhuman actions I had been witneſs to among them, on the frontiers of the province; and alſo that they were daily increaſing, by others of our pretended friends joining them; that they were all well ſupplied by the French with arms and ammunition, and greatly encouraged by them in their continual excurſions and barbarities, not only in having extraordinary premiums for ſuch ſcalps as they ſhould take and carry home with them at their return, but great preſents of all kinds, beſides rum, powder, ball, &c. before they ſallied forth. Having ſatisfied his excellency in ſuch particulars as he requeſted, the ſame being put into writing, I ſwore to the contents thereof, as may be ſeen by thoſe who doubt of my veracity in the public papers of that time; as well in England as in Philadelphia. Having done with me, Mr. Morris gave me three pounds, and ſent the affidavit to the aſſembly who were then ſit-

ting in the ſtate-houſe at Philadelphia, concluding on proper meaſures to check the depredations of the ſavages, and put a ſtop to the barbarous hoſtilities of the diſtreſſed inhabitants, who daily ſuffered death in a moſt deplorable condition; beſides being obliged to abſcond their plantations, and the country being left deſolate for ſeveral hundred miles on the frontiers, and the poor ſufferers could have no relief, by reaſon of the diſputes between the governor and the aſſembly. The former was led by the inſtructions of the proprietor, which was entirely againſt the intereſt of the province, ſo that it cauſed great confuſion among the people to ſee the country ſo deſtroyed, and no preparations making for its defence.

However, on receiving this intelligence from his excellency, they immediately ſent for me. When I arrived, I was conducted into the lower houſe, where the aſſembly then ſat, and was there interrogated by the ſpeaker, very particularly, as to all I had before given the governor an account of. This my firſt examination laſted three hours. The next day I underwent a ſecond for about an hour and a half, when I was courteouſly diſmiſſed, with a promiſe that all proper methods ſhould be taken, not only to accommodate and reimburſe all thoſe who had ſuffered by the ſavages, but to prevent them from committing the like hoſtilities for the future.

Now returned, and once more at liberty to purſue my own inclinations, I was perſuaded by my father-in-law and friends to follow ſome employment or other; but the plantation, from whence I was taken, though an exceeding good one, could not tempt me to ſettle on it again. What my fate would have been if I had, may eaſily be conceived. And there being at this time (as the aſſembly too late for many of us found) a neceſſity for raiſing men to check thoſe barbarians in their ravaging depredations, I inliſted myſelf as one, with the greateſt alacrity

crity and moſt determined reſolution, to exert the utmoſt of my power, in being revenged on the helliſh authors of my ruin. General Shirley, governor of New England, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's land-forces in North America, was pitched upon, to direct the operations of the war in that part of the world.

Into a regiment immediately, under the command of this general, was it my lot to be placed for three years. This regiment was intended for the frontiers, to deſtroy the forts erected by the French, as ſoon as it ſhould be completely furniſhed with arms, *&c.* at Boſton in New England, where it was ordered for that purpoſe. Being then very weak, and infirm in body, though poſſeſſed of my reſolution, it was thought adviſeable to leave me for two months in winter-quarters. At the end of which, being pretty well recruited in ſtrength, I ſet out for Boſton, to join the regiment with ſome others, likewiſe left behind: and after croſſing the river Delaware, we arrived at New Jerſey, and from thence proceeded through the ſame by New York, Middletown, Mendon in Connecticut, to Boſton, where we arrived about the end of March, and found the regiment ready to receive us.

Boſton, being the capital of New England, and the largeſt city in America, except two or three on the Spaniſh continent, I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort account of it.

It is pleaſantly ſituated, and about four miles in compaſs, at the bottom of Maſſachuſet's Bay, into which there is but one common and ſafe paſſage, and not very broad, there being ſcarce room for three ſhips to come in a-breaſt; but once in, there is room for the anchorage of 500 ſail. It is guarded by ſeveral rocks, and above a dozen iſlands; the moſt remarkable of theſe iſlands is Caſtle-Iſland, which ſtands about a league from the town, and ſo

ſituated, that no ſhip of burden can approach the town, without the hazard of being ſhattered in pieces by its cannon. It is now called Fort-William, and mounted with 100 pieces of ordnance; 200 more which were given to the province by Queen Anne, are placed on a platform, ſo as to rake a ſhip fore and aft, before ſhe can bring about her broadſides to bear againſt the caſtle. Some of theſe cannon are 42 pounders; 500 able men are exempted from all military duty in times of war, to be ready at an hour's warning, to attend the ſervice of the caſtle, upon a ſignal of the approach of an enemy, which there ſeems to be no great danger of at Boſton; where in 24 hours time, 10,000 effective men, well armed, might be ready for their defence. According to a computation of the collectors of the Light-houſe, it appeared there were 24,000 tons of ſhipping cleared annually.

The pier is at the bottom of the bay, 2000 feet long, and runs ſo far into the bay, that ſhips of the greateſt burden may unload without the help of boats or lighters. At the upper end of the chief ſtreet in the town, which comes down to the head of the pier, is the Town-houſe, or Exchange, a fine building, containing, beſides the walk for merchants, the Council-chamber, the Houſe of Commons, and a ſpacious room for the courts of juſtice. The Exchange is ſurrounded with bookſellers ſhops that have a good trade: Here being five printing-houſes, and the preſſes generally full of work, which is in a great meaſure owing to the colleges and ſchools in New England; and likewiſe at New York and Philadelphia, there are ſeveral printing-houſes lately erected, and bookſellers conſtantly employed, as well as at Virginia, Maryland, South Carolina, Barbadoes, and the Sugar-Iſlands.

The town lies in the form of an half-moon, round the harbour, and conſiſting of about 4000 houſes,

houſes, muſt make an agreeable proſpect; the ſurrounding ſhore being high, the ſtreets long, and the buildings beautiful. The pavement is kept in ſo good order, that to gallop a horſe on it is 3*s*. 4*d*. forfeit. The number of inhabitants is computed at about 24,000.

There are eight churches, the chief of which is called the Church of England-church; beſides the Baptiſt-meeting, and the Quakers meeting.

The converſation in this town is as polite as in moſt of the cities and towns in England. A gentleman of London would fancy himſelf at home at Boſton, when he obſerves the number of people, their furniture, their tables, and dreſs, which perhaps is as ſplendid and ſhowy as that of moſt tradeſmen in London.

In this city, learning military diſcipline, and waiting for an opportunity of carrying our ſchemes into execution, we lay till the firſt of July; during all which time, great outrages and devaſtations were committed by the ſavages in the back parts of the province. One inſtance of which, in particular, I ſhall relate, as being concerned in rewarding, according to deſert, the wicked authors thereof.

Joſeph Long, Eſq. a gentleman of a large fortune in theſe parts, who had in his time been a great warrior among the Indians, and frequently joined in expeditions with thoſe in our intereſt, againſt the others. His many exploits, and great influence among ſeveral of the nations, were too well known to paſs unrevenged by the ſavages againſt whom he had exerted his abilities. Accordingly, in April 1756, a body of them came down on his plantation, about 30 miles from Boſton, and ſkulking in the woods for ſome time, at laſt ſeized an opportunity to attack his houſe, in which, unhappily proving ſucceſsful, they ſcalped, mangled, and cut to pieces, the unfortunate gentleman, his wife, and nine ſervants; and then made a general conflagra-

tion of his houſes, barns, cattle, and every thing he poſſeſſed, which, with the mangled bodies, were all conſumed in one blaze. But his more unfortunate ſon and daughter were made priſoners, and carried off by them, to be reſerved for greater tortures. Alarmed and terrified at this inhuman butchery, the neighbourhood, as well as the people of Boſton, quickly aſſembled themſelves, to think of proper meaſures to be revenged on theſe execrable monſters. Among the firſt of thoſe who offered themſelves to go againſt the ſavages, was James Crawford, Eſq. who was then at Boſton, and heard of this tragedy; he was a young gentleman who had, for ſome years, paid his addreſſes to Miſs Long, and was in a very little time to have been married to her. Diſtracted, raving, and ſhocked as he was, he loſt no time, but inſtantly raiſed 100 reſolute and bold young fellows, to go in queſt of the villains. As I had been ſo long among them, and was pretty well acquainted with their manners and cuſtoms, and particularly their ſkulking places in the woods, I was recommended to him as one proper for his expedition; he immediately applied to my officers, and got liberty for me. Never did I go on any enterpriſe with half that alacrity and chearfulneſs I now went with this party. My wrongs and ſufferings were too recent in my memory, to ſuffer me to heſitate a moment in taking an opportunity of being revenged to the utmoſt of my power.

Being quickly armed and provided, we haſtened forward for Mr. Long's plantation on the 29th, and after travelling the moſt remote and intricate paths through the woods, arrived there the 2d of May, dubious of our ſucceſs, and almoſt deſpairing of meeting with the ſavages, as we had heard nor could diſcover nothing of them in our march. In the afternoon, ſome of our men being ſent to the top of a hill to look out for them, ſoon perceived a great

ſmoke

ſmoke in a part of the low grounds. This we immediately, and rightly conjectured, to proceed from a fire made by them. We accordingly put ourſelves into regular order, and marched forwards, reſolving, let their number have been what it might, to give them battle.

Arriving within a mile of the place, Captain Crawford, whoſe anxiety and pain made him quicker ſighted than any of the reſt, ſoon perceived them, and gueſſed their number to be about 50. Upon this we halted, and ſecreted ourſelves as well as we could, till 12 o'clock at night. At which time, ſuppoſing them to be at reſt, we divided our men into two diviſions, 50 in each, and marched on; when coming within twenty yards of them, the captain fired his gun, which was immediately followed by both diviſions in ſucceſſion, who inſtantly ruſhing on them with bayonets fixed, killed every man of them.

Great as our joy was, and fluſhed with ſucceſs as we were at this ſudden victory, no heart among us but was ready to burſt at the ſight of the unhappy young lady. What muſt the thoughts, torments, and ſenſations of our brave captain then be, if even we, who knew her not, were ſo ſenſibly affected! For, oh! what breaſt, though of the brutal ſavage race we had juſt deſtroyed, could, without feeling the moſt exquiſite grief and pain, behold in ſuch infernal power, a lady in the bloom of youth, bleſt with every female accompliſhment that could ſet off the moſt exquiſite beauty! Beauty, which rendered her the envy of her own ſex, and the delight of ours, enduring the ſeverity of a windy, rainy night! Behold one nurtured in the moſt tender manner, and by the moſt indulgent parents, quite naked, and in the open woods, encircling with her alabaſter arms and hands, a cold rough tree, whereto ſhe was bound, with cords ſo ſtraitly pulled, that the blood trickled

trickled from her finger-ends! Her lovely tender body, and delicate limbs, cut, bruiſed, and torn with ſtones, and boughs of trees, as ſhe had been dragged along, and all beſmeared with blood! What heart can even now, unmoved, think of her diſtreſs, in ſuch a deplorable condition; having no creature, with the leaſt ſenſations of humanity, near to ſuccour or relieve her, or even pity or regard her flowing tears, and lamentable wailings!

The very remembrance of the ſight has, at this inſtant, ſuch an effect upon me, that I almoſt want words to go on.—Such then was the condition in which we found this wretched fair, but faint and ſpeechleſs with the ſhock our firing had given her tender frame. The captain, for a long time, could do nothing but gaze upon and claſp her to his boſom, crying, raving, and tearing his hair like one bereft of his ſenſes; nor did he for ſome time perceive the lifeleſs condition ſhe was in, until one of the men had untied her lovely mangled arms, and ſhe fell to the ground. Finding among the villains plunder, the unhappy lady's clothes, he gently put ſome of them about her; and after various trials, and much time ſpent, recovered her diſſipated ſpirits, the repoſſeſſion of which ſhe firſt manifeſted by eagerly fixing her eyes on her dear deliverer, and ſmiling, with the moſt complaiſant joy, bleſſed the Almighty, and him, for her miraculous deliverance.

During this pleaſing, painful interview, our men were buſily employed, in cutting, hacking, and ſcalping the dead Indians; and ſo deſirous was every man to have a ſhare in wreaking his revenge on them, that diſputes happened among ourſelves, who ſhould be the inſtruments of further ſhewing it on their lifeleſs trunks, there not being enough for every man to have one wherewith to ſatiate himſelf: The captain obſerving the animoſity between us, on this occaſion, ordered, that the two diviſions ſhould caſt

caſt lots for this bloody, though agreeable piece of work: which being accordingly done, the party, whoſe lot it was to be excluded from this buſineſs, ſtood by with half-pleaſed countenances, looking on the reſt; who, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs and activity, purſued their revenge, in ſcalping, and otherwiſe treating their dead bodies as the moſt inveterate hatred and deteſtation could ſuggeſt.

The work being done, we thought of ſteering homewards triumphant with the 50 ſcalps; but how to get the lady forwards, who was in ſuch a condition as rendered her incapable of walking further, gave us ſome pain, and retarded us a little, until we made a ſort of carriage to ſeat her on; and then, with the greateſt readineſs, we took our turns, four at a time, and carried her along. This, in ſome meaſure, made the captain chearful, who all the way endeavoured to comfort and revive his deſponding afflicted miſtreſs: but, alas! in vain, for the miſeries ſhe had lately felt, and the terrible fate of her poor brother, of whom I doubt not but the tender-hearted reader is anxious to hear, rendered even her moſt pleaſing thoughts, notwithſtanding his ſoothing words, corroding and inſufferable.

The account ſhe gave of their diſaſtrous fate and dire cataſtrophe, beſides what I have already mentioned, was, that the ſavages had no ſooner ſeen all conſumed, but they hurried off with her and her brother, puſhing, and ſometimes dragging them on, for four or five miles, when they ſtopt; and ſtripping her naked, treated her in a ſhocking manner, whilſt others were ſtripping and cruelly whipping her unhappy brother. After which, they, in the ſame manner, purſued their journey, regardleſs of the tears, prayers, or entreaties of this wretched pair; but with the moſt infernal pleaſure, laughed and rejoiced at the calamities and diſtreſſes they had brought them to, and ſaw them ſuffer, until they

arrived

arrived at the place we found them; where they had that day butchered her beloved brother in the following execrable and cruel manner: They firſt ſcalped him alive, and after mocking his agonizing groans and torments, for ſome hours, ripped open his belly, into which they put ſplinters, and chips of pine-trees, and ſet fire thereto; the ſame (on account of the turpentine wherewith theſe trees abound) burnt with great quickneſs and fury for a little time, during which, he remained in a manner alive, as ſhe could ſometimes perceive him to move his head, and groan. They then piled a great quantity of wood all around his body, and conſumed it to aſhes.

Thus did theſe barbarians put an end to the being of this unhappy young gentleman, who was only 22 years of age when he met his calamitous fate. She continued her relation, by acquainting us, that the next day was to have ſeen her periſh in the like manner, after ſuffering worſe than even ſuch a terrible death, the ſatisfying theſe diabolical miſcreants in their brutal luſt. But it pleaſed the Almighty to permit us to reſcue her, and entirely extirpate this crew of devils!

Marching eaſily on her account, we returned to the captain's plantation the 6th of May, where, as well as at Boſton, we were joyfully received, and rewarded handſomely for the ſcalps of thoſe ſavages we had brought with us. Mr. Crawford and Miſs Long were ſoon after married; and, in gratitude to the ſervices we had done them, the whole party were invited to the wedding, and nobly entertained; but no riotous or noiſy mirth was allowed, the young lady, as we may well imagine, being ſtill under great affliction, and in a weak ſtate of health.

Nothing further material, that I now remember, happened during my ſtay at Boſton; to proceed, therefore,

therefore, with the continuation of our intended expedition.

On the 1ſt of July, the regiment began their march for Oſwego. The 21ſt we arrived at Albany, in New York, through Cambridge, Northampton, and Hadfield, in New England. From thence, marching about twenty miles farther, we encamped near the mouth of the Mohawk river, by a town called Schenectady, not far from the Endleſs Mountains. Here did we lie ſome time, until batteaux (a ſort of flat-bottomed boats, very ſmall, and ſharp at both ends) could be got to carry our ſtores and proviſions to Oſwego; each of which would contain about ſix barrels of pork, or in proportion thereto. Two men belonged to every batteaux, who made uſe of ſtrong ſcutting poles, with iron at the ends, to prevent their being too ſoon deſtroyed by the ſtones in the river (one of the ſources of the Ohio), which abounded with many, and large ones, and in ſome places was ſo ſhallow, that the men were forced to wade and drag their batteaux after them. Which, together with ſome cataracts, or great falls of water, rendered this duty very hard and fatiguing, not being able to travel more than ſeven or eight Engliſh miles a-day, until they came to the Great carrying place, at Wood's Creek, where the proviſions and batteaux were taken out, and carried about four miles to Alliganey, or Ohio great river, that runs quite to Oſwego, to which place General Shirley got with part of the forces, on the 8th of Auguſt; but Colonel Mercer with the remainder, did not arrive until the 31ſt. Here we found Colonel Schuyler with his regiment of New Jerſey provincials, who had arrived there ſome time before. A ſhort deſcription of a place which has afforded ſo much occaſion for animadverſion, may not here be altogether diſagreeable to thoſe unacquainted with our ſettlements in that part of the world.

Oſwego

Oſwego is ſituated N. lat. 43 deg. 20 min. near the mouth of the river Onondago, on the ſouth ſide of the lake Ontario, or Cataraquie. There was generally a fort and conſtant garriſon of regular troops kept before our arrival. In the proper ſeaſons, a fair for the Indian trade is kept here: Indians of above twenty different nations have been obſerved here at a time. The greateſt part of the trade between Canada and the Indians of the Great Lakes, and ſome parts of the Miſſiſſippi, paſs near this fort; the neareſt and ſafeſt way of carrying goods upon this lake being along the ſouth ſide of it. The diſtance from Albany to Oſwego fort is about 300 miles weſt; to render which march more comfortable, we met with many good farms and ſettlements by the way. The Outawaes, a great and powerful nation, living upon the Outawae river, which joins the Catarique river (the out-let of the great lake), deal conſiderably with the New-York trading houſes here.

The different nations trading to Oſwego are diſtinguiſhable by the variety and different faſhions of their canoes; the very remote Indians are clothed in ſkins of various ſorts, and have all fire-arms; ſome come ſo far north as Port Nelſon in Hudſon's Bay, N. lat. 57 deg. and ſome from the Cherokees weſt of South Carolina, in N. lat. 32 deg. This ſeems indeed to be a vaſt extent of inland water carriage, but it is only for canoes and the ſmalleſt of craft.

Nor will it in this place be improper to give ſome account of our friends in thoſe parts, whom we call the Mohawks, *viz.* The Iroquois, commonly called the Mohawks, the Oneiadaes, the Onondagues, the Cayugaes, and the Senekaes. In all accounts they are lately called the Six nations of the New York Friendly Indians; the Tuſcararoes, ſtragglers from the old Tuſcararoes of North Carolina, lately are reckoned as the ſixth.——I ſhall here reckon them

as

as I have been informed they were formerly. 1. The Mohawks: they live upon the Mohawk's or Schenectady river, and head, or lie north of New York, Penſylvania, Maryland, and ſome part of Virginia; having a caſtle or village, weſtward from Albany 40 miles, and another 65 miles weſt, and about 160 fencible men. 2. The Oneiadaes, about 80 miles from the Mohawk's ſecond village, conſiſting of about 200 fighting men. 3. The Onondagues, about 25 miles further (the famous Oſwego, a trading place on the lake Ontario, is in their country), conſiſting of about 250 men. 4. The Cayuages, about 70 miles further, of about 130 men: And, 5. The Senekaes, who reach a great way down the river Suſquehana, conſiſt of about 700 marching, fighting men: ſo that the fighting men of the five or ſix nations of Mohawks may be reckoned at 1500 men, and extend from Albany, weſt 400 miles, lying in about 30 tribes or governments. Beſides theſe, there is ſettled above Montreal, which lies N. E. of Oſwego, a tribe of ſcoundrels, runaways from the Mohawks: they are called Kahnuages, conſiſting of about eighty men.—This ſhort account of theſe nations I think neceſſary to make the Engliſh reader acquainted with, as I may have occaſion to mention things concerning ſome of them.

It may not be improper here alſo, to give a ſuccinct detail of the education, manners, religion, *&c.* of the natives. The Indians are born tolerably white; but they take a great deal of pains to darken their complexion, by anointing themſelves with greaſe, and lying in the ſun. Their features are good, eſpecially thoſe of the women. Their limbs clean, ſtraight, and well proportioned, and a crooked and deformed perſon is a great rarity among them. They are very ingenious in their way, being neither ſo ignorant, nor ſo innocent, as ſome people imagine:

gine: On the contrary, a very underſtanding generation are they, quick of apprehenſion, ſudden in diſpatch, ſubtle in their dealings, exquiſite in their inventions, and in labour aſſiduous: The world has no better markſmen with guns, or bows and arrows, than the natives, who can kill birds flying, fiſhes ſwimming, and wild beaſts running; nay, with ſuch prodigious force do they diſcharge their arrows, that one of them will ſhoot a man quite through, and nail both his arms to his body with the ſame arrow.

As to their religion, in order to reconcile the different accounts exhibited by travellers, we muſt ſuppoſe that different tribes may have different notions, and different rites: and though I do not think myſelf capable of determining the caſe with the preciſion and accuracy I could wiſh; yet, with what I have collected from my own obſervation when among them, and the information of my brother-captives, who have been longer converſant with the Indians than I was, I ſhall readily give the public all the ſatisfaction I can.

Some aſſure us the Indians worſhip the images of ſome inferior deities, whoſe anger they ſeem to dread; on which account the generality of our travellers denominate the objects of their devotion, devils; though at the ſame time it is allowed they pray to their inferior deities for ſucceſs in all their undertakings, for plenty of food, and other neceſſaries of life. It appears too, that they acknowledge one Supreme Being; but him they adore not, becauſe they believe he is too far exalted above them, and too happy in himſelf, to be concerned about the trifling affairs of poor mortals. They ſeem alſo to believe a future ſtate; and that, after death, they will be removed to their friends who have gone before them, to an Elyſium or Paradiſe beyond the Weſtern Mountains: others again, allow them either no religion

ligion at all, or, at moſt, very faint ideas of a deity; but all agree that they are extravagantly ſuperſtitious, and exceedingly afraid of evil ſpirits. To theſe demons they make oblations every new moon for the ſpace of ſeven days; during which time, they caſt lots, and ſacrifice one of themſelves, putting the perſon devoted to the moſt exquiſite miſery they can invent, in order to ſatisfy the devil for that moon; for they think if they pleaſe but the evil ſpirit, God will do them no hurt.

Certain however it is, that thoſe Indians, whom the French prieſts have had an opportunity of miniſtering unto, are induced to believe, "That the "Son of God came into the world to ſave all "mankind, and deſtroy all evil ſpirits that now "trouble them; that the Engliſh have killed him; "and that ever ſince, the evil ſpirits are permitted "to walk on the earth: that if the Engliſh were "all deſtroyed, the Son of the Good Man, who is "God, would come again, and baniſh all evil ſpi-"rits from their lands, and then they would have "nothing to fear or diſturb them." Cajoled by theſe falſe but artful inſinuations of the French Jeſuits, the Indians from that time, have endeavoured to maſſacre all the Engliſh, in order that the Son of God might come again on the earth, and rid them from their ſlaviſh fears and terrible apprehenſions, by exterminating the objects thereof.

Being now at Oſwego, the principal object that gave at that time any concern to the Americans, I ſhall, before I continue my own account, give a ſhort recital of what had been done in theſe parts, in regard to the defence and preſervation of the fort and the colonies thereabouts, before I came, upon ſuch authorities as I got from thoſe who had been long at Oſwego, and I can well depend upon for truth.

General Shirley, in 1754, having erected two new forts on the river Onondaga, it ſeemed probable, that he intended to winter at Oſwego with his army, that he might the more readily proceed to action in the enſuing ſpring. What produced his inactivity afterwards, and how it was, that fort Oſwego was not taken by the French in the ſpring 1755, are things my penetration will not enable me to diſcuſs. But Oſwego is now loſt, and would have been ſo in the ſpring of 1755, if more important affairs had not made the French neglect it. At this time the garriſon of Oſwego conſiſted only of 100 men, under Captain King. The old fort being their only protection, which mounted only eight four pounders, was incapable of defence, becauſe it was commanded by an eminence directly croſs a narrow river, the banks of which were covered with thick wood.

In May 1755, Oſwego being in this condition, and thus garriſoned; thirty French batteaux were ſeen to paſs, and two days after, eleven more; each batteau (being much larger than ours) containing fifteen men; ſo this fleet conſiſted of near 600 men: A force, which, with a ſingle mortar, might ſoon have taken poſſeſſion of the place.

A reſolution was now taken to make the fort larger, and erect ſome new ones; to build veſſels upon the lake; to increaſe the garriſon; and provide every thing neceſſary to annoy the enemy, ſo as they might render the place tenable. Captain Broadſtreet arriving on the 27th of May at the fort, with two companies, ſome ſmall ſwivel-guns, and the firſt parcel of workmen, made ſome imagine that a ſtop would be put to the French in their carrying men in ſight of the garriſon; yet they ſtill permitted eleven more French batteaux to paſs by, though we were then ſuperior to them in theſe boats, or at leaſt in number. The reaſon our forces

could

could not attack them, was, becauſe they were four miles in the offing, on board large veſſels, in which the ſoldiers could ſtand to fire without being overſet; and our batteaux, in which we muſt have attacked them, were ſo ſmall, that they would contain only ſix men each, and ſo tickliſh, that the inadvertent motion of one man would overſet them. No care, however, was taken to provide larger boats againſt another emergency of the ſame kind. At Oſwego, indeed, it was impracticable for want of *iron work*; ſuch being the provident forecaſt of thoſe who had the management of affairs, that though there were ſmiths enough, yet there was, at this place, but one pair of bellows, ſo that the firſt accident that ſhould happen to that neceſſary inſtrument, would ſtop all the operations of the forge at once.

The beginning of June, the ſhip-carpenters arrived from Boſton, and on the 28th of the ſame month, the firſt veſſel we ever had on the lake Ontario was launched and fitted out: She was a ſchooner, 40 feet in the keel, had 14 oars, and 12 ſwivel-guns. This veſſel, and 320 men, was all the force we had at Oſwego, the beginning of July, and was victualled at the expence of the province of New-York. Happy indeed it was, that the colony proviſions were there; for ſo little care had been taken to get the king's proviſions ſent up, that, when we arrived, we muſt have periſhed with famine, had not we found a ſupply, which we had little reaſon to expect.

About the middle of July, an attack was again expected, when we (the forces under General Shirley) were ſtill near 300 miles diſtant. And, if the attack had then been made, with the force the enemy was known to have had at hand, it muſt, for the reaſon I have juſt before given, have fallen into their poſſeſſion.

Such was the ſtate of Oſwego, when we arrived there: Where we had been but a ſmall time before proviſions began to be very ſcarce; and the King's allowance being ſtill delayed, the provincial ſtores were ſoon exhauſted, and we were in danger of being ſoon famiſhed, being on leſs than half allowance. The men being likewiſe worn out, and fatigued with the long march they had ſuffered, and being without rum (or allowed none at leaſt), and other proper nutriment, many fell ſick of the flux, and died; ſo that our regiment was greatly reduced in ſix weeks time: A party that we left at the important carrying place, at Wood's Creek, being abſolutely obliged to deſert it for want of neceſſaries.

Sickneſs, death, and deſertion, had at length ſo far reduced us, that we had ſcarce men enough to perform duty, and protect thoſe that were daily at work. The Indians keeping a ſtrict look-out, rendered every one who paſſed the out-guards, or centinels, in danger of being ſcalped or murdered. To prevent conſequences like theſe, a captain's guard of ſixty men, with two lieutenants, two ſerjeants, two corporals, and one drum, beſides two flank-guards of a ſerjeant, corporal, and twelve men in each, were daily mounted, and did duty as well as able. Scouting parties were likewiſe ſent out every day; but the ſickneſs ſtill continuing, and having 300 men at work, we were obliged to leſſen our guards, till General Pepperel's regiment joined us.

A little diligence being now made uſe of, about the middle of September, four other veſſels were got ready, *viz.* a decked ſloop of eight guns, four pounders, and 30 ſwivels; a decked ſchooner, eight guns, four pounders, and twenty-eight ſwivels; one undecked ſchooner of fourteen ſwivels, and fourteen oars, and another of twelve ſwivels, and fourteen oars; about 150 tons each.

On

On the 24th of October, with this armament, and a conſiderable number of batteaux, which were too ſmall to live upon the lake in moderate weather, we were preparing to attack Niagara; though (notwithſtanding we had taken all the proviſions we could find in Oſwego, and had left the garriſon behind, with ſcarce enough for three days) the fleet had not proviſions ſufficient on board, to carry them within ſight of the enemy, and ſupplies were not to be got, within 300 miles of the place we were going againſt. However, the impracticability of ſucceeding in an expedition, undertaken without victuals, was diſcovered time enough to prevent our march, or embarkation, or whatever it may be called; but not before nine batteaux, laden with officers baggage, were ſent forwards, four men in each batteau; in one of which it was my lot to be. The men being weak, and in low ſpirits, with continual haraſſing and low feeding, rendered our progreſs very tedious and difficult; add to this the places we had to paſs and aſcend; for, in many parts, the cataracts, or falls of water, which deſcended near the head of the river Onondaga (in ſome places near 100 feet perpendicular), rendered it almoſt impoſſible for us to proceed; for the current running from the bottom, was ſo rapid, that the efforts of twenty or thirty men were ſometimes required to drag the boats along, and eſpecially to get them up the hills or cataracts, which we were forced to do with ropes: Sometimes, when, with great labour and difficulty, we had got them up, we carried them by land near a quarter of a mile, before we came to any water. In ſhort, we found four men to a batteau inſufficient; for the men belonging to one batteau were ſo fatigued and worn out, that they could not manage her, ſo that ſhe lay behind almoſt a league.

The

The captain that was with us, obſerving this, as ſoon as we had got the others over the moſt difficult falls, ordered two beſides myſelf to go and help her forwards. Accordingly I got into her, in order to ſteer her, whilſt my two comrades and her own crew dragged her along. When we got to any cataracts, I remained in her to faſten the ropes, and keep all ſafe, whilſt they hauled her up; but drawing her to the ſummit of the laſt cataract, the ropes gave way, and down ſhe fell into a very rapid and boiſterous ſtream; where, not being able by myſelf to work her, ſhe ſtove to pieces on a ſmall rock, on which ſome part of her remaining till morning, I miraculouſly ſaved myſelf. Never was my life in greater danger than in this ſituation; the night being quite dark, and no aſſiſtance to be obtained from any of my comrades; though many of them, as I afterwards learned, made diligent ſearch for me; but the fall of the water rendered the noiſe that they, as well as myſelf, made, to be heard by one another, quite ineffectual.

In the morning they, indeed, found me, but in a wretched condition, quite benumbed, and almoſt dead with cold, having nothing on but my ſhirt.

After various efforts, having with great difficulty got me up, they uſed all proper means to recover my worn-out ſpirits; but the fire had a fatal effect to what they intended, for my fleſh ſwelled all over my body and limbs, and cauſed ſuch a deprivation of my ſenſes, that I fainted, and was thought by all to be dead. However, after ſome time, they pretty well recovered my ſcattered ſenſes, and fatigued body, and with proper care conducted me, with ſome others (who were weak and ill of the flux), to Albany, where the hoſpital received our poor debilitated bodies.

The

The reſt, not able to proceed, or being countermanded, bent their courſe back again to Oſwego; where, a friendly ſtorm preventing an embarkation, when a ſtock of proviſions was got together (ſufficient to prevent them from eating one another, during the firſt twelve days), all thoughts of attacking Niagara were laid aſide.

Thus ended this formidable campaign. The veſſels that we had built (as I afterwards learned) were unrigged and laid up, without having been put to any uſe; while a French veſſel was cruiſing on the Lake, and carrying ſupplies to Niagara, without interruption; five others, as large as ours, being alſo ready to launch at Frontenac, which lies acroſs the lake Ontario, north of Oſwego.

The General, whatever appearances might have led others, as well as myſelf, to think otherwiſe, ſoon indicated his intention of not wintering at Oſwego; for he left the place before the additional works were completed, and the garriſon, by inſenſible degrees, decreaſed; the 1100 men ſtill living in perpetual terror, on the brink of famine, and become mutinous for want of their pay; which, in the *hurry of military buſineſs*, during a year that was crowned with great events, had been forgotten: for, from my firſt inliſting, to the time I was laid up at Albany, I never had received above ſix weeks pay.

A little, indeed, may be offered in vindication of the General, in regard to the numberleſs delays of this campaign; *viz.* That it took ſome time to raiſe the two regiments which were in Britiſh pay, as the name of inliſting for life is ſomewhat forbidding to the Americans (a few of whom, as well as myſelf, made our agreement for three years; but after that time, I doubt, we muſt have depended on his pleaſure for our being diſcharged, according to our contract, had it not fallen out otherwiſe). The unuſual

unuſual dryneſs of the ſummer rendered the rivers down to Oſwego in ſome places impaſſable, or very difficult for the batteaux to proceed; and it was whiſpered, that a gentleman, lately in an eminent ſtation in New York, did all in his power to hinder the undertaking, from a pique to the General. By theſe diſadvantages, he was detained at Albany till Auguſt; and even when he did reach Oſwego, he found himſelf put to no little difficulty to maintain his ground for want of proviſions: and the men being ſo reduced, more than once, to ſhort allowance, as you have ſeen, became troubled with the flux, and had not any thing neceſſary; not even rum ſufficient for the common men, to prevent the fatal effects of that diſorder.

In this manner the ſummer was ſpent on our ſide; and the reaſon why the French did not this year take Oſwego, when they might, with ſo little trouble, was, as many beſide myſelf conjectured, that they thought it more their intereſt, to purſue their projects on the Ohio, and preſerve the friendſhip of the confidential Indians; which an attack upon Oſwego, at that time, would have deſtroyed.

How far they ſucceeded in ſuch their projects, and the reaſon of their ſucceſſes, a little animadverſion on our own tranſactions will let us into the light of. For, as appearances on our ſide were very favourable in the ſpring; General Braddock's defeat greatly increaſed the gloom, which ſat on the countenances of the Americans.

Great things being expected from him, he arrived early in the ſpring at Virginia, with a conſiderable land-force; and Fort du Queſne ſeemed to be ours, if we did but go and demand it. The attacks deſigned againſt Niagara, and Fort Frederick, at Crown Point, were planned in the winter, and the troops employed againſt the French in Nova Scotia, embarked at Boſton in April. Let us view the events,

events, beſides thoſe already mentioned. General Braddock was ready to march in April. But through ignorance or neglect, or a miſunderſtanding with the governor of Virginia, had neither freſh proviſions, horſes, nor waggons provided; and ſo late as the latter end of May, it was neceſſary to apply to Penſylvania, for the moſt part of thoſe. This neglect created a moſt pernicious diffidence and diſcredit of the Americans, in the mind of the General, and prevented their uſefulneſs, where their advice was wanted, and produced very bad effects. He was a man (as it is now too well known and believed) by no means of quick apprehenſion, and could not conceive that ſuch a people could inſtruct him; and his young counſellors prejudiced him ſtill more, ſo as to ſlight his officers, and what was worſe, his enemy; as it was treated as an abſurdity to ſuppoſe the Indians would ever attack regulars: And, of courſe, no care was taken to inſtruct the men, to reſiſt their peculiar manner of fighting. Had this circumſtance been attended to, I am fully perſuaded 400 Indians, about the number that defeated him, would have given him very little annoyance: Sure I am, 400 of our people, rightly managed, would have made no difficulty of driving before them four times that handful, to whom he owed his defeat and death.

The undertaking of the eaſtern provinces, to reduce the fort at Crown Point, met that fate which the jarring councils of a divided people commonly meet with; for though the plan was concerted in the winter of 1754, it was Auguſt before theſe petty governments could bring together their troops. In ſhort, it muſt be owned by all, that delays were the banes of our undertakings, except in the Bay of Fundi, in Nova Scotia, where ſecrecy and expedition were rewarded with ſucceſs, and that province reduced.

The

The General continued inactive, from the time he left Oſwego, to March 1756, when he was about to reſume the execution of his ſcheme to attack Frontenac and Niagara. What would have been the iſſue of this project, neither myſelf, nor any other perſon, can now pretend to ſay, for, juſt at this criſis, he received orders from England to attempt nothing, till Lord Louden ſhould arrive, which was ſaid ſhould be early in the ſpring. However, his Lordſhip did not get there until the middle of July, ſo that by this delay, time was given to the Marquis de Montcalm (Major General Dieſkau's ſucceſſor) to arrive from France at Canada with 3000 regular forces, and take the field before us.

But to return from this digreſſion to other tranſactions. When I was pretty well recovered again, I embarked on board a veſſel from Albany for New York; where, when I arrived, I found to my ſorrow, Captain John Shirley, the General's ſon, had been dead for ſome time. He was a very promiſing, worthy, young gentleman, and univerſally regretted. His company was given to Major James Kinnair, who ordered, that none of his men ſhould go out on the recruiting parties, as was at firſt intended by his predeceſſor; but that the private men ſhould either return to Oſwego, or do duty in the fort at New York. Not liking my ſtation here, I entreated the General, who was now arrived, for a furlough, to ſee my friends at Penſylvania, which he having then no great occaſion for me at New York, granted for three months.

As I have here mentioned New York, and before given a ſhort account of the two cities, Philadelphia and Boſton, it would be a diſreſpect ſhown to this elegant one not to take notice of it, as well as, in ſome meaſure, debarring the reader from ſuch information as may not be diſagreeable; but not being

of

of that note or conſequence with the others, I ſhall briefly obſerve; that,

New York is a very fine city, and the capital of the province of that name; it contains about 3000 houſes, and near 9000 inhabitants. The houſes are all well built, and the meaneſt of them ſaid to be worth 100*l.* Sterling, which cannot be ſaid of the city of the ſame name, nor of any other in England. Their converſation is polite, and their furniture, dreſs, and manner of living, quite elegant. In drinking and gallantry they exceed any city in America.

The great church is a very handſome edifice, and built in 1695. Here is alſo a Dutch church, a French church, and a Lutheran church. The inhabitants of Dutch extraction make a conſiderable part of the town, and moſt of them ſpeak Engliſh.

Having obtained my furlough, I immediately ſet out for Penſylvania, and arriving at Philadelphia, found the conſternation and terror of the inhabitants was greatly increaſed to what it was when I left them. They had made ſeveral treaties of friendſhip with the Indians, who, when well ſupplied with arms, ammunition, clothes, and other neceſſaries, through the pacific meaſures, and defenceleſs ſtate of the Philadelphians, ſoon revolted to the French, and committed great outrages on the back parts of the province, deſtroying and maſſacring men, women, and children, and every thing that unhappily lay in their way.

A few inſtances of which, together with the behaviour of the Philadelphians on theſe occaſions, I ſhall here preſent the reader with, who, of whatever ſect or profeſſion, I am well aſſured, muſt condemn the pacific diſpoſition, and private factions that then reigned, not only in the a——y, but among the magiſtrates themſelves; who were a long time before they could agree on proper petitions,

to rouſe the aſſembly from the lethargic and inactive condition they abſolutely remained in.

For, about the middle of October, a large body of Indians, chiefly Shawonoeſe, Delawares, &c. fell upon this province from ſeveral quarters, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, murdering, burning, and laying waſte all wherever they came; ſo that in the five counties of Cumberland, York, Lancaſter, Berks, and Northampton, which compoſe more than half the province, nothing but ſcenes of deſtruction and deſolation were to be ſeen.

The damages which theſe counties had ſuſtained by the deſertion of plantations, is not to be reckoned up, nor are the miſeries of the poor inhabitants to be deſcribed; many of whom, though eſcaping with life, were, without a moment's warning, driven from theſe habitations, where they enjoyed every neceſſary of life, and were then expoſed to all the ſeverity of an hard winter, and obliged to ſolicit their very bread at the cold hand of charity, or periſh with hunger, under the inclement air.

To theſe barbarities I have already mentioned, I cannot paſs over the following, as introductory cauſes of the Philadelphians at laſt withſtanding the outrages of the barbarians.

At Gnadenhutten, a ſmall Moravian ſettlement in Northampton county, the poor unhappy ſufferers were ſitting round their peaceful ſupper, when the inhuman murderers, muffled in the ſhades of night, dark and horrid as the infernal purpoſes of their diabolic ſouls, ſtole upon them, butchered, ſcalped them, and conſumed their bodies, together with their horſes, ſtock, and upwards of ſixty head of fat cattle (intended for the ſubſiſtence of the brethren at Bethlehem), all in one general flame; ſo that next morning furniſhed only a melancholy ſpectacle of their mingled aſhes.

At

At the Great Cove in Cumberland at Tulpehockin, in Berks, and in ſeveral other places, their barbarities were ſtill greater, if poſſible. Men, women, children, and brute beaſts, ſhared one common deſtruction; and where they were not burnt to aſhes, their mangled limbs were found promiſcuouſly ſtrewed upon the ground; thoſe appertaining to the human form ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from the brute!

But, of all the inſtances of the barbarities I heard of in theſe parts, I could not help being moſt affected with the following: One family, conſiſting of the huſband, his wife, and a child only a few hours old, were all found murdered and ſcalped in this manner: The mother ſtretched on the bed, with her new-born child horribly mangled and put under her head for a pillow, while the huſband lay on the ground hard by, with his belly ript up, and his bowels laid open.

In another place, a woman, with her ſucking child, finding that ſhe had fallen into the hands of the enemy, fell flat on her face, prompted by the ſtrong call of nature, to cover and ſhelter her innocent child with her own body. The accurſed ſavage ruſhed from his lurking place, ſtruck her on the head with his tomahawk, tore off her ſcalp, and ſcoured back into the woods, without obſerving the child, being apprehenſive that he was diſcovered.—The child was found ſome time afterwards under the body of its mother, and was then alive.

Many of their young women were carried by the ſavages into captivity, reſerved perhaps for a worſe fate than thoſe who ſuffered death in all its horrid ſhapes; and no wonder, ſince they were reſerved by ſavages, whoſe tender mercies might be counted more cruel than their very cruelty itſelf.

Yet even during all this time, this province (had things been properly ordered) need but, in compari-

ſon to her ſtrength, have lifted her foot and cruſhed all the French force on their borders; but unuſed to ſuch undertakings, and bound by *non-reſiſting principles* from exerting her ſtrength, and involved in diſputes with the proprietors, they ſtood ſtill, vainly hoping the French would be ſo moderate as to be content with their victory over Braddock, or at leaſt confine their attacks to Virginia: But they then ſaw and felt all this was deluſion, and the barbarities of the Indian parties headed by French officers: Notwithſtanding all which, they continued in domeſtic debates, without a ſoldier in pay, or a penny in the treaſury. In ſhort, if the enemy had then had but 1500 men at the Ohio, and would have attempted it, no raſhneſs could have been perceived in their marching down to the city of Philadelphia.

Thus ſtood our affairs on the ſide of the Ohio, when an old captain of the warriors, in the intereſt of the Philadelphians, and their ever faithful friend, whoſe name was Scarooyada, alias Monokatoathy, on the firſt notice of theſe misfortunes, came haſtening to Philadelphia, together with Colonel Weiſer, the provincial interpreter, and two other Indian chiefs. Scarooyada immediately demanded an audience of the aſſembly, who were then ſitting, to whom he ſpoke in a very affecting manner. His ſpeeches being printed, and ſold about Philadelphia, I procured one of them, which was as follows:

'BRETHREN,

'We are once more come among you, and ſincerely condole with you on account of the late 'bloodſhed, and the awful cloud that hangs over 'you, and over us. Brethren, you may be undoubtedly aſſured, that theſe horrid actions were 'committed by none of thoſe nations that have any 'fellowſhip with us, but by certain falſe-hearted 'and treacherous brethren. It grieves us more

'than

'than all our other misfortunes, that any of our 'good friends, the Engliſh, ſhould ſuſpect us of hav- 'ing falſe hearts.

'BRETHREN,

'If you were not an infatuated people, we are '300 warriors firm to your intereſt; and, if you 'are ſo unjuſt to us, as to retain any doubts of our 'ſincerity, we offer to put our wives, our children, 'and all we have into your hands, to deal with them 'as ſeemeth good to you, if we are found in the 'leaſt to ſwerve from you. But, brethren, you 'muſt ſupport and aſſiſt us, for we are not able to 'fight alone againſt the powerful nations who are 'coming againſt you; and you muſt this moment 'reſolve, and give us an explicit anſwer what you 'will do: For theſe nations have ſent to deſire us, 'as old friends, either to join them, or get out of 'their way, and ſhift for ourſelves. Alas! bre- 'thren, we are ſorry to leave you! We remember 'the many tokens of your friendſhip to us: But 'what ſhall we do? We cannot ſtand alone, and 'you will not ſtand with us!——

'BRETHREN,

'The time is precious. While we are here con- 'ſulting with you, we know not what may be the 'fate of our brethren at home. We do therefore 'once more invite and requeſt you to act like men, 'and be no longer as women, purſuing weak mea- 'ſures that render your names deſpicable. If you 'will put the hatchet * into your hands, and ſend 'out a number of your young men in conjunction 'with our warriors, and provide the neceſſary 'arms, ammunition, and proviſions, and likewiſe 'build ſome ſtrong houſes for the protection of

* See the Note under Tomahawk, p. 17.

'our old men, women, and children, while we are 'abſent in war, we ſhall ſoon wipe the tears from 'your eyes, and make theſe falſe-hearted brethren 'repent their treachery and baſeneſs towards you, 'and towards us.

'But we muſt at the ſame time ſolemnly aſſure 'you, that if you delay any longer to act in con-'junction with us, or think to put us off, as uſual, 'with uncertain hopes, you muſt not expect to ſee 'our faces under this roof any more. We muſt 'ſhift for our own ſafety, and leave you to the 'mercy of our enemies, as an infatuated people, 'upon whom we can have no longer depend-'ence.'

The tears ſtood in the old man's eyes, while he delivered this laſt part; and no wonder, ſince the very being of his nation depended upon their join-ing the enemy, or our enabling them immediately to make head againſt them.

It was ſome time, however, before the aſſembly could be brought to conſent to any vigorous mea-ſures for their own defence. The back inhabit-ants loſt all patience at their conduct. Until at length, the Governor exerted his utmoſt power, and procured the militia and money bills to paſs. By virtue of the former, the freemen of the province were enabled to form themſelves into companies, and each company, by a majority of votes, by way of ballot, to chuſe its own officers, *viz.* a captain, lieutenant, and enſign; who, if approved of, were to be commiſſioned by the Governor. So that the Philadelphians were at laſt permitted to raiſe and arm themſelves in their own defence. They accord-ingly formed themſelves into companies: the Go-vernor ſigning to all gentlemen qualified, who had been regularly ballotted, commiſſions for that pur-poſe.

Captain

Captain Davis was one of the firſt who had a company, and, being deſirous of my ſervice, in order to inſtruct the irregulars in their diſcipline, obtained from the governor a certificate to indemnify me from any puniſhment which might be adjudged by the regiment to which I already belonged; for without that, I had not gone. Our company, which conſiſted of 100 men, was not completed until the 24th of December 1755; when, loſing no time, we next morning marched from Philadelphia in high ſpirits; reſolving to ſhew as little quarter to the ſavages as they had to many of us.

Colonel Armſtrong had been more expeditious, for he had raiſed 280 provincial irregulars, and marched a little time before againſt the Ohio Morians; but of him more hereafter.

We arrived the 26th of December at Bethlehem, in the forks of the river Delaware, where, being kindly received by the Moravians, we loaded ſix waggons with proviſions, and proceeded on to the Appalachian Mountains, or Blue Hills, to a town called Kennorton-head, which the Moravians had deſerted on account of the Indians. Fifty of our men, of whom I made one, were ordered before the reſt, to ſee whether the town was deſtroyed or not. Diſpoſing them to the beſt advantage, we marched on till we came within five miles of the place, which we found ſtanding entire.

Having a very uneven, rugged road to it, and not above four men able to go a-breaſt, we were on a ſudden alarmed by the firing of the flank-guards, which were a little in the rear of our van. The ſavages briſkly returned their fire, and killed the enſign and ten of the men, and wounded ſeveral others.

Finding this, I being chief in command (having acted as lieutenant, and received pay as ſuch from my firſt entrance, for my trouble and duty in learning

ing in the company) ordered the men to march on with all expedition to the town, and all the way to keep a running fire on the enemy, as they had fallen on our rear.

We would have got there in very good order, had it not been for a river we had to croſs, and the weather being ſo exceſſively cold, our clothes froze to our bodies as ſoon as we got out of the water. However, with great difficulty we reached the town, and got into the church with the loſs of 27 men. There we made as good preparations for our defence as poſſibly we could, making a great fire of the benches, ſeats, and what we could find therein, to dry our clothes; not eſteeming it the leaſt ſacrilege or crime, upon ſuch an emergency.

The Indians ſoon followed us into the town, and ſurrounding us, tried all methods to burn the church, but our continual firing kept them off for about ſix hours, until our powder and ball were all expended. In the night they ſet ſeveral houſes on fire; and we, dreading the conſequences of being detained there, reſolved to make one bold effort, and puſh ourſelves through the ſavage forces, which was accordingly done with the moſt undaunted courage. The enemy fired continually on us during our retreat, and killed many of our men, but in their confuſion many of themſelves alſo; it being ſo very dark that we were not able to diſcern our own party; ſo that only five of us kept together, and got into the woods; the reſt, whom we left behind, I doubt, fell ſacrifices to the ſavages.

The night being ſo exceſſive cold, and having but few clothes with us out of the church, two of my comrades froze to death, before we could reach any inhabited place. In ſhort, we did not get any relief till four o'clock in the morning, when we arrived at a houſe that lay in the gap of the Blue Hills;

Hills; where our captain had arrived with the remainder of the men and waggons the day before.

The captain inquiring our ſucceſs, I gave him the melancholy detail of our unfortunate expedition: upon which an expreſs was immediately ſent to the governor with the account, who ordered 1600 men to march the next morning for the ſame place, under the command of General Franklin, not only to bury the dead, and build a fort there, but to extirpate the ſavages who infeſted theſe parts, and were too powerful for our ſmall number under Captain Davis.

The remainder of our little party were now building a fort at the place where we lay for our defence, until more aſſiſtance ſhould arrive; for we were under continual apprehenſions of the Indians purſuing and attacking us again.

On the 9th of January 1756, we were reinforced by General Franklin and his body; and the next day ſet out again for Kennorton-head; where, when we arrived, to our great conſternation, we found little occaſion to bury our unhappy comrades, the ſwine (which in that country are vaſtly numerous in the woods) having devoured their bodies, and nothing but bones ſtrewed up and down were to be ſeen. We there built a fort in the place where the old church had ſtood, and gave it the name of Fort Allen; this was finiſhed in ſix days, and in ſo good a manner, that 100 men would make great reſiſtance againſt a much greater number of Indians.

On the 18th, 1400 of us were ordered about fifteen miles diſtant from thence, on the frontiers of the province; where we built another fort called Fort Norris. In our way thither we found ſix men ſcalped and murdered in a moſt cruel manner. By what we could diſcern, they had made a vigorous defence, the barrels and ſtocks of their guns being broke

broke to pieces, and themſelves cut and mangled in a terrible manner.

From thence we were ordered to march towards a place called the Minniſinks, but this journey proved longer than we were aware of. The Indians committing great outrages in theſe parts, having burnt and deſtroyed all the houſes, *&c.* in our way: Theſe tragic actions cauſed us to divide ourſelves into ſeveral parties, who were ordered divers ways, to cut off as many of theſe ſavages as poſſible.

The day after this ſcheme was put into execution, we met with a ſmall party, which we put to the rout, killing fourteen of them. We then made all poſſible diſpatch to ſave ſome houſes we ſaw on fire, but on our nearer approach found our endeavour in vain: John Swiſher and his family having been before ſcalped, and burnt to aſhes in his own houſe. On the following night the houſe of James Wallis underwent the ſame fate; himſelf, wife, ſeven children, and the reſt of his family, being ſcalped, and burnt therein. The houſes and families of Philip Green and Abraham Nairn ſuffered in the like manner. Nor did the cruelty of theſe barbarians ſtop here, but attacked the dwelling-houſe of George Hunter, Eſq. a gentleman of conſiderable worth, and a juſtice of the peace, who made a brave reſiſtance, and rather than fall into the hands of theſe miſcreants, choſe to meet death in the flames; which he, his wife, and all his houſehold, conſiſting of ſixteen in number, did with the utmoſt bravery, before any aſſiſtance could be received from our General, who had diſpatched 500 of us for that purpoſe, on an expreſs being ſent to him that morning.

From thence we marched to the Minniſinks, and built Fort Norris. On the 9th of March we ſet out with 1000 men to the head of the Minniſinks, and built

built another fort, which we named Franklin, in honour of our General. All which forts were garriſoned with as many men as we could poſſibly ſpare.

After this we were daily employed in ſcouring the woods, from fort to fort, of theſe noxious creatures, the Indians, and in getting as much of the corn together as we could find, to prevent ſavages from having any benefit therefrom.

Notwithſtanding our vigilance, theſe villains, on the 15th, attacked the houſe of James Graham, but by providence he, with his wife, who had juſt lain in, and the young infant in her arms (with nothing about her but her ſhift) made their eſcape to Fort Allen, about fifteen miles diſtant. The child periſhed by the way, and it was matter of wonder to the whole garriſon to find either of them alive; indeed they were in a deplorable condition, and we imagined they would expire every moment. The wife however, to our great aſtoniſhment, recovered, but the huſband did not ſurvive above ſix hours after their arrival.

The houſe of Iſaac Cook ſuffered by the flames; himſelf, his wife, and eight children, being ſcalped and burnt in it.

Tedious and ſhocking would it be to enumerate half the murders, conflagrations, and outrages, committed by theſe helliſh infidels; let it ſuffice therefore, that from the year 1753, when they firſt began their barbarities, they had murdered, burnt, ſcalped, and deſtroyed, above 3500; above 1000 whereof were unhappy inhabitants of the weſtern part of Philadelphia. Men, women, and children, fell alike a prey to the ſavages: No regard being had by them to the tender entreaties of an affectionate parent for a beloved child, or the infant's prayers in behalf of his aged father and mother. Such are the miſerable calamities attendant on ſchemes for gratifying the ambition of a tyrannic monarch

monarch like France, or the weak contrivances and indolent meaſures of blundering miniſters and negociators.

The time of my furlough at length expiring, I prepared to ſet out for my regiment. Having a recommendatory letter from General Franklin to Major Kinnair, as to my ſervices, I marched forward for New York: Where being arrived, I waited on the Major, he being a worthy gentleman, univerſally beloved by the whole regiment; and after giving him an account of all our tranſactions, and the hardſhips and labours we had gone through, I was diſmiſſed.

After ſome ſtay there, I was ordered to proceed on my march for Oſwego once more. But, before I go further with my affairs, I ſhall juſt recount the reſult of thoſe provincials, who went, as I mentioned before, to quell the ſavages, under the command of Colonel Armſtrong.

He having under his command 280 provincials, deſtined againſt the Ohio Morians, againſt whom nothing had been attempted, notwithſtanding their frequent incurſions and murders, penetrated 140 miles through the woods, from Fort Shirley on Juniata river, to Kittanning an Indian town, on the Ohio, about 25 miles above Fort du Queſne, belonging to the French. He ſoon joined the advanced party at the Beaver-dams; and, on the fourth evening after, being within ſix miles of Kittanning, the ſcouts diſcovered a fire in the road, and reported that there were but three or four Indians at it. At that time it was not thought proper to attempt ſurpriſing theſe Indians, leſt, if one ſhould eſcape, the town might be alarmed: Lieutenant Hogg, therefore, with twelve men, was left to watch them, with orders not to fall upon them until day-break; and our forces turned out of the path, to paſs their fire, without diſturbing them.

About

About three in the morning, having been guided by the whooping of the Indian warriors, at a dance in the town, they reached the river at about 100 perches below it. As ſoon as day appeared, the attack began. Captain Jacobs, chief of the Indians, gave the war-whoop, and defended his houſe bravely through the loop-holes in the logs. The Indians generally refuſing quarter, Colonel Armſtrong ordered their houſes to be ſet on fire, which was done by the officers and ſoldiers with great alacrity. On this, ſome burſt out of the houſes and attempted to reach the river, but were inſtantly ſhot.—Captain Jacobs, in getting out of a window, was ſhot and ſcalped, as were alſo his Squaw, and a lad they called the King's ſon. The Indians had a number of ſpare arms in their houſes loaded, which went off in quick ſucceſſion as the fire came to them; and quantities of gunpowder, which had been ſtored in every houſe, blew up from time to time, throwing their bodies into the air.

Eleven Engliſh priſoners were releaſed, who informed the Colonel, that that very day two batteaux of Frenchmen, with a large party of Delaware and French Indians, were to have joined Captain Jacobs, to march and take Fort Shirley; and that twenty-four warriors had ſet out before them the preceding evening; which proved to be the party that had kindled the fire the preceding night; for our people returning, found Lieutenant Hogg wounded in three places: and learned, that he had attacked the ſuppoſed party of three or four at the fire, but found them too ſtrong for him. He killed three of them however, at the firſt fire, and fought them an hour; when, having loſt three of his men, the reſt, as he lay wounded, abandoned him and fled, the enemy purſuing. Lieutenant Hogg died ſoon after of his wounds.

Enough of theſe two expeditions has been ſaid, nor can I well tell which of the two was moſt ſucceſsful, both loſing more of their own men than they killed of the enemy.

A little retroſpection again on the actions and behaviour of the Philadelphians, and the other provinces, and places in conjunction with them, may here be ſomething neceſſary: For, when I arrived at Philadelphia, I found, that however melancholy their ſituation had been of late, this good effect had been obtained, that the moſt prejudiced and ignorant individual was feelingly convinced of the neceſſity of vigorous meaſures; and, beſides national and public views, then the more prevailing ones of revenge and ſelf-intereſt gave a ſpur to their counſels. They were accordingly raiſing men with the utmoſt expedition; and had, before the end of the ſummer, a conſiderable number, though not equal to what they could furniſh, having at leaſt 45,000 men in Penſylvania able to fight.

And, purſuant to agreement ſome months before, the four governments of New England, in conjunction with New York (which laſt furniſhed 1300) had now aſſembled 8000 men (for the attack of Fort Frederick) at Albany, 150 miles N. of New York, and about 130 from Crown Point, under the command of General Winſlow. But many people dreading the cruelty of the French, were not ſo very eager to join them this year as the laſt; an impreſs therefore of part of the militia was ordered in New York government. To prevent which, ſubſcriptions were ſet on foot to engage volunteers by high bounties; ſo loath were they that ſome got nine or twelve pounds Sterling to inliſt.

The 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51ſt regiments of Great Britain were deſtined for the campaign on the great lake Ontario, and moſtly marched for Oſwego, thence to be carried over in 200 great whale-

whale-boats, which were then at the lake, and were built at Schenectady on Mohawk's river, and were long, round, and light, as the batteaux, being flat-bottomed and ſmall, would not anſwer the navigation of the lake, where the waves were often very high. They were then, at laſt, intended to attack Fort Frontenac, mentioned before, and the other French forts on the lake. Upwards of 2000 batteau men were employed to navigate the batteaux, each a ton burthen, laden with proviſions and ſtores from Albany by the Mohawk river, then through Oneyda lake and river, down to Oſwego. There were likewiſe 300 ſailors hired and gone up from New York (as I found, when I arrived there) to navigate the four armed ſhips on the lake, built there, as I have before mentioned, the laſt year, for the king's ſervice, and two others were then building; ſmiths, carpenters, and other artificers, having gone there for that purpoſe ſome weeks before. Such were the preparations and armaments for this campaign; but how fruitleſs, to our great diſgrace, was ſoon known all over the world!

I ſhall not trouble the reader with a long account of a long march I had to take from New York to Oſwego, to join my regiment: ſuffice it therefore, that I arrived there about the middle of July; but in my march thither with ſome recruits, we joined Colonel Broadſtreet at Albany, and on the 6th of May, at the Great Carrying-place, had a ſkirmiſh with the French and Indians, wherein ſeveral were killed and wounded on both ſides; of the latter I made one. Receiving a ſhot through my left hand, which entirely diſabled my third and fourth fingers; and having no hoſpital, or any conveniencies for the ſick there, I was, after having my hand dreſſed in a wretched manner, ſent with the next batteaux to Albany to get it cured.

As ſoon as I was well, I ſet forwards for Oſwego again. And, when I arrived there, I began to make what obſervations I could, as to the alterations that had been made ſince my departure in the month of October preceding. The works of Oſwego, at this time, conſiſted of three forts, *viz.* The Old Fort, built many years before, whoſe chief ſtrength was a weak ſtone-wall, about two feet thick, ſo ill cemented, that it could not reſiſt the force of a four pound ball, and ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the harbour; the two other forts, called Fort Ontario and Fort George, were each of them at the diſtance of about 450 yards from the Old Fort, and ſituated on two eminences, which commanded it; both theſe, as I have already obſerved, were begun to be built laſt year upon plans, which made them defenſible againſt muſquetry, and cannon of three or four pound ball only, the time not allowing works of a ſtronger nature to be then undertaken.

For our defence againſt large cannon, we entirely depended on a ſuperior naval force upon the lake, which might have put it in our power to prevent the French from bringing heavy artillery againſt the place, as that could only be done by water carriage, which is my opinion, as well as many others. If the naval force had but done their duty, Oſwego might have been ours to this very day, and entirely cut off the communication of the French from Canada to the Ohio: But if I would inſiſt on this, as the particulars require, I perhaps ſhould affront ſome, and injure myſelf, all to no purpoſe, or of any beneficial ſervice to recall our former loſſes; for that reaſon, I ſhall defer enlarging on the ſubject, although at the ſame time, I can give very good circumſtances to maintain my argument, if required.

A day or two after being at Oſwego, the fort was alarmed by hearing a firing; when on diſpatching

ing proper ſcouts, it was found to be the French and Indians engaging the batteau men and ſailors, conveying the proviſions to Oſwego, from one river to another. On this, a detachment of 500 men were ordered out in purſuit of them, whereof I was one. We had a narrow paſs in the woods to go through, where we were attacked by a great number of Indians, when a deſperate fight began on both ſides, that laſted about two hours. However, at laſt we gained a complete victory, and put them entirely to the rout, killing fourteen of them, and wounding above forty. On our ſide we had but two men killed and ſix wounded. Many more would have been killed of both parties, had it not been for the thickneſs of the woods.

I cannot here omit recounting a moſt ſingular tranſaction that happened during this my ſecond time of being there, which, though ſcarce credible, is abſolutely true, and can be teſtified by hundreds, who know and have often ſeen the man: in ſhort, one Moglaſky, of the 50th regiment, an Iriſhman, being placed as centinel over the rum which had arrived, and being curious to know its goodneſs, pierced the caſk, and drank till he was quite intoxicated; when, not knowing what he did, he rambled from his poſt, and fell aſleep a good way from the garriſon. An Indian ſkulking that way for prey (as is conjectured) found him, and made free with his ſcalp, which he plucked and carried off. The ſergeant, in the morning, finding him proſtrate on his face, and ſeeing his ſcalp off, imagined him to be dead; but on his nearer approach, and raiſing him from the ground, the fellow awaked from the ſound ſleep he had been in, and aſked the ſergeant what he wanted. The ſergeant, quite ſurpriſed at the ſtrange behaviour of the fellow, interrogated him, how he came there in that condition? He replied, *He could not tell; but that he had got very*

drunk, and rambled he knew not whither. The ſergeant adviſed him to prepare for death, not having many hours to live, as he had loſt his ſcalp. *Arrah, my dear, now* (cries he) *and are you joking me?* for he really knew nothing of his being ſerved in the manner he was, and would not believe any accident had happened him, until ſeeing his clothes bloody, he felt his head, and found it to be too true, as well as having a cut from his mouth to his ear. He was immediately carried before the Governor, who aſking him, how he came to leave his poſt? He replied, *That being very thirſty, he had broached a caſk of rum, and drank about a pint, which made him drunk; but if his Honour would forgive him, he'd never be guilty of the like again.* The Governor told him, it was very probable he never would, as he was now no better than a dead man. However, the ſurgeons dreſſed his head there as well as they could, and then ſent him in a batteau to Albany, where he was perfectly cured; and, to the great ſurpriſe of every body, was living when I left the country. This, though ſo extraordinary and unparalleled an affair, I aver to be true, having ſeveral times ſeen the man after this accident happened to him. How his life was preſerved ſeems a miracle, as no inſtance of the like was ever known.

I had forgot to mention, that before I left Albany the laſt time, upon Colonel Broadſtreet's arrival there, in his way to Oſwego, with the proviſions and forces, conſiſting of about 500 whale-boats and batteaux, intended for the campaign on the great lake Ontario, mentioned before, I joined his corps, and proceeded on with the batteaux, *&c.*

Going up the river Onondago towards Oſwego, the batteau men were, on the 29th of June, attacked near the Falls, about nine miles from Oſwego, by 500 French and Indians, who killed and wounded 74 of our men, before we could get on ſhore, which,

which, as ſoon as we did, the French were routed, with the loſs of 130 men killed, and ſeveral wounded, whom we took priſoners.

Had we known of their lying in ambuſh, or of their intent to attack us, the victory would have been much more complete on our ſide, as the troops Colonel Broadſtreet commanded were regular, well diſciplined, and in tolerable health; whereas the French, by a long paſſage at ſea, and living hard after their arrival at Canada, were much haraſſed and fatigued.

However, we got all ſafe to Oſwego, with the batteaux and proviſions, together with rigging and ſtores for the large veſſels, excepting twenty-four cannon, ſix pounders, that were then at the Great Carrying-place; which Colonel Broadſtreet was to bring with him, upon his next paſſage, from Schenectady; to which place, as ſoon as he had delivered to the Quarter-maſter all the ſtores under his care, he was ordered to return with the batteaux and men to receive the orders of Major-general Abercrombie. In his return from Schenectady, it was expected that Halket's and Dunbar's regiment would have come with him, in order to take Fort Frontenac, and the other French forts on the lake Ontario. But, alas! as ſchemes for building caſtles in the air always prove abortive, for want of proper architecture and foundation, ſo did this ſcheme of ours, for want of a due knowledge of our own ſituation!

On the arrival of theſe forces, a new brigantine and ſloop were fitted out; and, about the ſame time, a large ſnow was alſo launched and rigged, and only waited for her guns and ſome running rigging, which they expected every day by Col. Broadſtreet; and had he returned in time with the cannon and batteau-men under his command, the French would not have dared to have appeared on the

the lake; but Col. Broadſtreet happened to be detained with the batteaux at Schenectady for above a month, waiting for the 44th regiment to march with him: The dilatorineſs of this embarkation at Schenectady cannot be imputed to Col. Broadſtreet, becauſe General Shirley waited with impatience for the arrival of Lord Loudon Campbell from England; and when his Lordſhip landed at New York, he, in a few days after, proceeded to Albany, where his Lordſhip took the command of the army from Gen. Shirley, and upon comparing, and conſidering how bad a ſituation his forces, and the different governments upon the continent were in, his Lordſhip, with the advice of ſeveral other experienced officers, thought himſelf not in a condition to proceed on any enterpriſe for that ſeaſon, no further than to maintain our ground at Oſwego; for which purpoſe, Colonel Broadſtreet was immediately ordered off with the batteaux and proviſions, as alſo the aforeſaid regiments; but before Broadſtreet arrived at the Great Carrying-place, Oſwego was taken, with all the ſhips of war, although our naval force was far ſuperior to the French.

Before I relate the attack of Oſwego, I ſhall review a little what the French were doing during theſe our dilatory, pompous proceedings.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-general of New France, whilſt he provided for the ſecurity of the frontiers of Canada, was principally attentive to the lakes. Being informed that we were making vaſt preparations at Oſwego for attacking Niagara and Frontenac, he took and razed, in the month of March, the fort where we had formed our principal magazine; and in June following, deſtroyed, on the river of Chonegan or Oſwego, ſome of our veſſels, and made ſome priſoners. The ſucceſs of theſe two expeditions encouraged him to act offenſively, and to attack us at

Oſwego.

Oſwego. This ſettlement they pretended, and ſtill inſiſt on, to be an incroachment, or invaſion, which we had made in time of profound peace, and againſt which, they ſaid, they had continually remonſtrated, during our blundering, negociating Lawyer's reſidence at France. It was at firſt, ſay they, only a fortified magazine; but in order to avail themſelves of its advantageous ſituation in the centre almoſt of the French colonies, the Engliſh added, from time to time, ſeveral new works, and made it conſiſt of three forts, as above deſcribed.

The troops deſigned for this expedition by the French amounted to near 5000 men, 1300 of which were regulars. To prevent his deſign being diſcovered, M. de Vaudreuil pretended, in order the better to deceive us, who had ſo long before been blind, that he was providing only for the ſecurity of Niagara and Frontenac. The Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded on this occaſion, arrived the 29th of July at Fort Frontenac: and having given the neceſſary directions for ſecuring his retreat, in caſe it ſhould have been rendered inevitable, by a ſuperior force, ſent out two veſſels, one of twelve and the other of ſixteen guns, to cruiſe off Oſwego, and poſted a chain of Canadians and Indians on the road between Oſwego and Albany, to intercept our couriers. All the forces, and the veſſels, with the artillery and ſtores, being arrived in the bay of Nixoure, the place of general rendezvous, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered his advance-guard to proceed to a creek, called Anſe aux Cabannes, three leagues from Oſwego. But,

To carry on this account the more accurate and intelligible to the reader, I ſhall recite the actions of the French and ourſelves together, as a more clear and ſuccinct manner of making thoſe unacquainted with the art of war, more ſenſible of this important affair.

Colonel

Colonel Mercer, who was then commanding officer of the garriſon at Oſwego, having, on the 6th of Auguſt, intelligence of a large encampment of French and Indians, about twelve miles off, diſpatched one of the ſchooners, with an account of it to Captain Bradley, who was then on a cruiſe with the large brigantine and two ſloops; at the ſame time, deſired him to cruiſe as far to the eaſtward as he could, and to endeavour to prevent the approach of the French on the lake; but meeting the next day with a ſmall gale of wind, the large brigantine was drove on ſhore near Oſwego, in attempting to get into the harbour; of which misfortune, the Indians immediately gave M. de Montcalm, the French General, notice, who took that opportunity of tranſporting his heavy cannon to about a mile and a half of the fort, which he could not otherwiſe have done, had not there been ſome neglect on our ſide.

For on the 10th, the firſt diviſion of the French being arrived at Anſe aux Cabannes, at two o'clock in the morning; the van-guard proceeded, at four in the afternoon, by land, acroſs woods, to another creek within half a league of Oſwego, in order to favour the debarkation. At midnight their firſt diviſion repaired to this creek, and there erected a battery on the lake Ontario.

Colonel Mercer, in the morning of the 10th, on ſome canoes being ſeen to the eaſtward, ſent out the ſmall ſchooner to make diſcovery of what they were; ſhe was ſcarce half a mile from the fort, before ſhe diſcovered a very large encampment, cloſe under the oppoſite point, being the firſt diviſion of the French troops above mentioned. On this, the two ſloops (the large brigantine being ſtill on ſhore) were ſent out with orders, if poſſible, to annoy the enemy; but this was to no purpoſe; the enemy's cannon being large and well pointed, hulled the veſſels

veſſels almoſt every ſhot, while theirs fell ſhort of the ſhore.

This day and the next, the enemy were employed in making gabions, fauciſſons, and faſcines, and in cutting a road acroſs the woods, from the place of landing, to the place where the trenches were to be opened; and the ſecond diviſion of the enemy arriving on the 11th in the morning, with the artillery and proviſions, the ſame immediately landed without any oppoſition. Though diſpoſitions were made for opening the trenches on the 10th at night, which was rather a parallel of about 100 toiſes * in front, and opened at the diſtance of 60 toiſes from the foſs of Fort Ontario, in ground embarraſſed with trunks of trees.

About five in the morning of the 11th, this parallel was finiſhed, and the workmen began to erect the batteries. Thus was the place inveſted by about 5000 men, and thirty-two pieces of cannon, from twelve to eighteen pounders, beſides ſeveral large braſs mortars and hoyets (among which artillery was part of General Braddock's). About noon they began the attack of Fort Ontario, with ſmall arms, which was briſkly returned. All this day, the garriſon was employed on the weſt ſide of the river, in repairing the batteries on the ſouth ſide of the Old Fort.

The next morning (the 12th) at day-break, a large number of French batteaux were diſcovered on the lake, in their way to join the enemy's camp: on which, Colonel Mercer ordered the two ſloops to be again ſent out, with directions to get between the batteaux and the camp; but before our veſſels came up, the batteaux had ſecured themſelves under the fire of their cannon.

* A toiſe is a French meaſure, and contains about two fathoms, or ſix feet, in length.

In

In the evening, a detachment was made of 100 men of the 50th (General Pepperel's) regiment, and 126 of the New Jerſey provincials, under the command of Colonel Schuyler, to take poſſeſſion of the fort on the hill, to the weſtward of the Old Fort, and under the direction of the engineer, Mr. M'Kneller, were to put it into the beſt ſtate of defence they could; in which work they were employed all the following night.

The enemy on the eaſt ſide continued their approaches to the Fort Ontario, but, with their utmoſt efforts, for a long time they could not bring their cannon to bear on it. However, drawing their cannon with great expedition, next morning (the 13th) about ten o'clock, to a battery erected within ſixty yards from it, they played them very hotly on the garriſon, notwithſtanding the conſtant fire kept on them, and the loſs of their principal engineer, who was killed in the trenches. A council of war was immediately held, by the officers of General Pepperel's regiment, who, obſerving the mortars were beginning to play, concluded it moſt adviſeable to quit Fort Ontario, and join Colonel Schuyler's regiment at Fort George or Fort Raſcal; and an account of this latter battery being ſent to Colonel Mercer, by the commandant of the enemy, ordering him to evacuate the fort, they accordingly did, about three in the afternoon, deſtroying the cannon, ammunition, and proviſions therein, and managed their retreat ſo as to paſs the river, and join the troops at the weſt ſide, without the loſs of a man. Theſe troops, being about 370, were immediately ordered to join Colonel Schuyler, which they accordingly did, and were employed all the following night in completing the works of that fort.

M. Montcalm immediately took poſſeſſion of Fort Ontario, and ordered the communications of the parallel to be continued to the banks of the river, where,

where, in the beginning of the night, they began a grand battery, placed in ſuch a manner, that it could not only batter Fort Oſwego, and the way from thence to Fort George, but alſo the intrenchment of Oſwego.

In the morning of the 13th, the large brigantine being off the rocks and repaired, a detachment of eighty men of the garriſon was put on board of her and the two ſloops, in order to go out immediately; but the wind continuing to blow directly into the harbour, rendered it impoſſible for them to get out before the place was ſurrendered. This night, as well as the night before, parties of the enemy's irregulars made ſeveral attempts to ſurpriſe our advance-guards and centinels, on the weſt ſide of the river, but did not ſucceed in any of them.

The enemy were employed this night in bringing up their cannon, and raiſing a battery. On our ſide, we kept a conſtant fire of cannon and ſhells from the Old Fort, and works about it. The cannon which moſt annoyed the enemy, were four pieces, which we reverſed on the platform of an earthen work, which ſurrounded the Old Fort, and which was entirely enfiladed by the enemy's battery on the oppoſite ſhore: In this ſituation, without the leaſt cover, the train, aſſiſted by a detachment of Shirley's regiment, behaved remarkably well.

At day-break, on the 14th, we renewed our fire on that part of the oppoſite ſhore, where we had the evening before obſerved the enemy at work, in raiſing the battery.

The enemy, in three columns, conſiſting of 2500 Canadians and ſavages, croſſed the river, ſome by ſwimming, and others by wading, with the water up to their middles, in order to inveſt and attack the Old Fort. This bold action, by which they entirely cut off the communication of the two forts; the celerity with which the works were carried on,

in ground that we thought impracticable; a continual return of our fire from a battery of ten cannon, twelve pounders; and their preparing a battery of mortars and hoyets, made Colonel Mercer think it adviſeable (he not knowing their numbers) to order Colonel Schuyler, with 500 men, to oppoſe them; which would accordingly have been carried into execution, and conſequently, every man of the 500 cut off, had not Colonel Mercer been killed by a cannon-ball, a few minutes after. The reſolution of this valiant Colonel, ſeemed to be determined to oppoſe the French to the laſt extremity, and to maintain his ground at Oſwego, but his final doom came on ſo unexpectedly, that his loſs was univerſally regretted.

About ten o'clock, the enemy's battery was ready to play; at which time, all our places of defence were either enfiladed, or ruined by the conſtant fire of their cannon; Fort Raſcal or George, in particular, having at that time no guns, and ſcarce in a condition to defend itſelf againſt ſmall arms; with 2500 irregulars on our backs, ready to ſtorm us on that ſide, and 2000 of their regulars as ready to land in our front, under the fire of their cannon. Whereas,

Fort Raſcal might have been made a very defenſible fortreſs, lying on a hill, and the aſcent to it ſo ſteep, that had an enemy been ever ſo numerous, they muſt have ſuffered greatly in an attempt to ſtorm it. Why it was not in a better ſtate, it becomes not me to ſay, but matters were ſo.

And in this ſituation we were, when Colonel Littlehales, who ſucceeded Colonel Mercer in the command, called a council of war, who were, with the engineers, unanimouſly of opinion, that the works were no longer tenable; and that it was by no means prudent to riſk a ſtorm with ſuch unequal numbers.

The

The chamade was accordingly ordered to be beat, and the firing ceaſed on both ſides; yet the French were not idle, but improved this opportunity to bring up more cannon, and advance the main body of their troops, within muſquet-ſhot of the garriſon, and prepared every thing for a ſtorm. Two officers were ſent to the French General, to know what terms he would give; the Marquis de Montcalm made anſwer, that they might expect whatever terms were conſiſtent with the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: He accordingly agreed to the following:—

ARTICLE I. "The garriſon ſhall ſurrender priſoners of war, and ſhall be conducted from hence "to Montreal, where they ſhall be treated with "humanity, and every one ſhall have treatment "agreeable to their reſpective ranks, according to "the cuſtom of war.

II. "Officers, and ſoldiers, and individuals, ſhall "have their baggage and clothes, and they ſhall "be allowed to carry them along with them.

III. "They ſhall remain priſoners of war, until "they are exchanged."

Given at the camp before Oſwego,
Auguſt 14, 1756.

MONTCALM.

By virtue of this capitulation, the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, and the French immediately took poſſeſſion of Oſwego, and Fort George, which they entirely deſtroyed, agreeable to their orders, after removing the artillery, warlike ſtores, and proviſions.

But to deſcribe the plunder, havock, and devaſtation, made by the French, as well as the ſavages, who ruſhed in by thouſands, is impoſſible.

For notwithſtanding the Chriſtian promiſe made by the General of his *Moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty, they all behaved more like infernal beings than creatures in human ſhapes. In ſhort, not contented with ſurrendering upon the above terms, they ſcalped and killed all the ſick and wounded in the hoſpitals; mangling, butchering, cutting, and chopping off their heads, arms, legs, &c. with ſpades, hatchets, and other ſuch diabolical inſtruments; treating the whole with the utmoſt cruelty, notwithſtanding the repeated interceſſions of the defenceleſs ſick and wounded for mercy; which were indeed piteous enough to have ſoftened any heart poſſeſſed of the minuteſt particle of humanity!

Here I cannot help obſerving, that notwithſtanding what has been ſaid of the behaviour of the officers of theſe (the 50th and 51ſt) regiments, I muſt, with the greateſt truth, give them the characters of brave, but I wiſh I could ſay, experienced men; every one of them that I had an opportunity of obſerving during the ſiege, behaving with the utmoſt courage and intrepidity. Nor, in this place, can I omit particularly naming Colonel James Campbell and Captain Archibald Hamilton *, who aſſiſted with the greateſt ſpirit and alacrity the private men at the great guns. But for ſuch an handful of men as our garriſon then conſiſted of, and the works being of ſuch a weak and defenceleſs nature, to have made a longer defence, or have cauſed the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, would have been ſuch an inſtance as England for many years hath not experienced; and I am afraid will be many more before it will, for reaſons that are too obvious.

The quantity of ſtores and ammunition we then had in the three forts is almoſt incredible. But of

* Colonel Campbell and Captain Hamilton are at preſent in Scotland, the former reſides near Glaſgow, and the latter in Edinburgh.

what

what avail are powder and balls if walls and ramparts are defenceleſs, and men inſufficient to make uſe of them? In ſhort, the French by taking this place, made themſelves maſters of the following things, all which were immediately ſent to Frontenac, *viz.* ſeven pieces of braſs cannon, nineteen, fourteen, and twelve pounders; forty-eight iron cannon, of nine, ſix, five, three, and two pounders; a braſs mortar of nine inches four-twelfths, and thirteen others of ſix and three inches; forty-ſeven ſwivel-guns; 23,000 lb. of gunpowder; 8000 lb. of lead and muſquet ball; two thouſand nine hundred and fifty cannon balls; one hundred and fifty bombs, of nine inches, and three hundred more, of ſix inches diameter; one thouſand four hundred and twenty-ſix grenadoes; one thouſand and ſeventy muſquets; a veſſel pierced for eighteen guns; the brigantine of ſixteen, a gœletta of ten, a batteau of ten (the ſloops already mentioned), another of eight guns, a ſkirff of eighteen ſwivels, and another burnt upon the ſtocks; ſeven hundred and four barrels of biſcuit, one thouſand three hundred and eighty-ſix firkins of bacon and beef; ſeven hundred and twelve firkins of meal; thirty-two live oxen; fifteen hogs, and a large ſum of money in the military cheſt, amounting, as the French ſaid, to eighteen thouſand five hundred and ninety-four livres.

On the 16th they began to remove us; the officers were firſt ſent in batteaux, and two hundred ſoldiers a-day afterwards, till the whole were gone, being carried firſt to Montreal, and from thence to Quebec. Our duty in the batteaux till we reached the firſt place, was very hard and ſlaviſh: And during the time we were on the lake or river St Laurence, it appeared very eaſy and feaſible for Commodore Bradely, had he thought proper, to have deſtroyed all the enemy's batteaux, and have pre-

vented them from ever landing their cannon within forty miles of the fort. But he knew his own reaſons for omitting this piece of ſervice beſt.

Our party arrived at Montreal in Canada on the 28th. We were that night ſecured in the fort, as were the reſt as they came in. The French uſed various means to win ſome of our troops over to their intereſt, or, at leaſt, to do their work in the fields, which many refuſed, among whom was myſelf; who were then conducted on board a ſhip, and ſent to Quebec, where, on arriving, the 5th of September, we were lodged in a gaol, and kept for the ſpace of one month.

During this our captivity, many of our men, rather than lie in a priſon, went out to work and aſſiſt the French in getting in their harveſt; they having then ſcarce any people left in that country but old men, women, and children, ſo that the corn was continually falling into the ſtubble, for want of hands to reap it; but thoſe who did go out, in two or three days, choſe confinement again, rather than liberty on ſuch terms, being almoſt ſtarved, having nothing in the country to live on but dry bread, whereas we in the priſon were each of us allowed two pounds of bread, and half a pound of meat a-day, and otherwiſe treated with a good deal of humanity.

Eighteen ſoldiers were all the guard they had to place over us, who being greatly fatigued with hard duty, and dreading our riſing on them (which had we had any arms we might eaſily have done, and ravaged the country round, as it was then entirely defenceleſs), and the town's people themſelves fearing the conſequences of having ſuch a number of men in a place where proviſions were at that time very ſcarce and dear, they thought of ſending us away, the moſt eligible way of keeping themſelves

ſelves from famine, and accordingly put 500 of us on board a veſſel for England.

But before I continue the account of our voyage home to our native country, I ſhall juſt make a ſhort retroſpection on the conſequences which attended the loſs of Oſwego, as appeared to us and the reſt of the people at Quebec, who knew that part of America, to which this important place was a ſafeguard.

As ſoon as Oſwego was taken, our only communication from the Mohawk's river to the lake Oneida was ſtopt up, by filling the place at Wood's Creek with great logs and trees, for many miles together. A few days afterwards, the forts at the Great Carrying-place, and then our moſt advanced poſt into the country of the Six Nations, which I have before given a ſhort account of (and where there were at that time above three thouſand men, including one thouſand two hundred batteau men, and which ſtill gave the Six Nations ſome hopes that we would defend their country againſt the French), were abandoned and deſtroyed, and the troops which were under the command of General Webb, retreated to Burnet's Field, and left the country and the Six Nations to the mercy of the enemy.

The French, immediately after the taking of Oſwego, demoliſhed, as is ſaid before, all the works there, and returned with their priſoners and booty to Ticonderago, to oppoſe our provincial army under the command of General Winſlow, who had ſhamefully been kept, in expectation of the dilatory arrival of Lord Louden, from attacking Crown Point, while the enemy were weak, and it was eaſily in our power to have beat them.

The conſequences of the deſtruction of our forts at the Great Carrying-place, and General Webb's retreating to Burnet's Field, is now, alas! too apparent to every one acquainted with American affairs.

The

The Indians of the Six Nations undoubtedly looked upon it as abandoning them and their country to the French: for they plainly ſaw that we had no ſtrong-hold near them, and that (by the place at Wood's Creek being ſtopped) we could not, if we would, afford them any aſſiſtance at Onondago, Cayuga, and in the Senekea's country, which were their chief caſtles: That the forts begun by us in thoſe countries were left unfiniſhed, and therefore could be of no uſe to them, and which, if we had kept the Carrying-place, we might have finiſhed, and given them ſtill hopes of our being able to defend.

But deſpairing of our being further ſerviceable to them, thoſe Iroquois, who were before our friends, and ſome of the others, have indeed deſerted us, and the conſequences of ſuch their junctions with the French, was ſoon after felt in the loſs of Fort George on Lake Sacrament.

The fine country on the Mohawk's river down to Albany, was by this ſtep left open to the ravages of the enemy, and an eaſy paſſage opened to the French and their Indians into the provinces of Penſylvania and New Jerſey, by the way of Suſquehana and Delaware rivers, which were before covered by our ſettlements on the Mohawk's river, and the Six Nations.

I ſhall here give the beſt deſcription of the Indians, their way of living, *&c.* in my power.

It is difficult to gueſs what may be the number of the Indians ſcattered up and down our back ſettlements; but, if their own account be true, they amount to many thouſands. Be this, however, as it will, they are not to be feared merely on account of their numbers; other circumſtances conſpire to make them formidable: The Engliſh inhabitants, though numerous, are extended over a vaſt tract of land, 500 leagues in length on the ſea-

ſea-ſhore, and for the moſt part have fixed habitations, the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt paſſages to which, the Indians, by conſtantly hunting in the woods, are perfectly well acquainted with; and as their way of making war is by ſudden attacks upon expoſed places, as ſoon as they have done the miſchief at one place, they retire, and either go home by ſome different route, or go to ſome diſtant place to renew their attacks. If they are purſued, it is a chance if they do not enſnare their purſuers; or if that be not the caſe, as ſoon as they have gained the rivers, ſo dexterous are they in the uſe of their canoes, that they preſently get out of reach. It is to no purpoſe to follow them to their ſettlements; for they can, without much diſadvantage, quit their old habitations, and betake themſelves to new ones: Add to this, that they can be ſuddenly drawn together from any diſtance, as they can find their ſubſiſtence in travelling from their guns.

No people on earth have a higher ſenſe of liberty, or ſtronger affection for their relations: when offended, they are the moſt implacable vindictive enemies on earth; for no diſtance of place, or ſpace of time, will abate their reſentment; but they will watch every opportunity of revenge, and when ſuch opportunity offers, they revenge themſelves effectually.

They will ſooner ſacrifice their own lives for the ſake of liberty, than humble themſelves to the arbitrary control of any perſon whatſoever. In battle they never ſubmit, and will die rather than be taken priſoners.

Our late tranſactions in America teſtify, that the friendſhip of the Indians is to be deſired, and the only way to maintain a friendly correſpondence with them, is by making ſuch propoſitions to them as will ſecure their liberties, and be agreeable to their expectations; and not only by keeping theſe propoſitions

propoſitions inviolable as well in time of peace as in time of war, but alſo renewing our treaties with them from time to time; for they are very jealous and tenacious of an affront or neglect. They are very proud, and love to be eſteemed. In time of peace, they live upon what they get of the white people, for which they barter ſkins, furs, &c. Their clothing, and every thing elſe they want, ſuch as arms, they get in the ſame manner. In war-time, they live upon what they can procure by their gun, and, if that fails, upon roots, fruits, herbs, and other vegetables of the natural produce of the earth.

They have never the foreſight to provide neceſſaries for themſelves; they look only to the preſent moment, and leave to-morrow to provide for itſelf. They eat of every wild beaſt which they kill, without diſtinction. They always prefer game to vegetables; but when they cannot get veniſon, they live on roots, fruits, and herbs. They deſtroy a great deal of meat at a time, when they have it in their power, and when they leave any, be it never ſuch a great quantity, it is ten to one if any of them will take the trouble to carry a pound of it, but will rather leave it behind them; yet, notwithſtanding this extravagance, ſuch is their tempers, and they are ſo inured to hardſhips, that if they cannot conveniently get at food, they can, and actually do faſt ſometimes for near a week together, and yet are as active as if they lived regularly. All their ſpare time is taken up in contriving ſchemes to ſucceed in their intended expeditions. They can never be taken in a purſuit by any European. They will travel ſeventy miles a-day, and continue for months together, as I have reaſon to know from experience; and they are ſure to bring their purſuers into a ſnare, if they are not wary, and have ſome Indians on their ſide to beat the buſhes. When they are overtaken with ſleep, they light a great

great fire, which prevents the wild beaſts from falling upon them; for wild beaſts have a natural averſion to fire: nor is it eaſy for an enemy to diſcover them in this condition; for the country is one continued tract of thick wood, overgrown with bruſh-wood, ſo that you cannot ſee the fire till you be within a few yards of it. They have nothing covering them from the inclemency of the weather but a blanket put upon them, ſomething in the ſhape of a Highlander's plaid.

And further, to prevent their being long obſerved by their purſuers, or to be ſeen too ſoon when they have a mind to attack any plantation, they paint themſelves of the ſame colour with the trees among which they hide themſelves.

When they are to attack a plantation they never come out till night, and then they ruſh inſtantly upon the farms, *&c.* and deſtroy every thing, as well men, women, and children, as beaſts; then they fall to plunder, and return to their lurking-holes till another opportunity of plunder happens, when they renew their attack in the ſame manner; ſo that if ſome method is not taken to draw them into our intereſt, our colonies will be in a continual alarm, and the country will ſoon become deſolate; for no body will venture their lives to ſettle on the back parts, unleſs the Indians are our friends.

The Indian manner of fighting is quite different from that of other nations. They induſtriouſly avoid all open engagements; and, beſides ambuſcades, their principal way is buſh-fighting, in the exerciſe of which they are very dexterous; for the back country being one continued wood, except ſome few ſpots cleared for the purpoſe of huſbandry by our back ſettlers, the Indians ſquat themſelves down behind the trees, and fire their muſkets at the enemy; if the enemy advances, then they retreat behind other trees, and fire in the ſame manner;

and

and as they are good marksmen, they never fire in vain, whereas their purſuers ſeldom hit.

Notwithſtanding the polite ſchemes of France are nearly brought to a period, yet if the Indians are not ſatisfied with the concluſion of a peace betwixt us and the French as to America; I mean, unleſs they are fairly dealt with, we ſhall gain but little by all our conqueſts; for it is the friendſhip of the Indians that will make Canada valuable to us. We have already more lands than we are able to manage; but the advantage, nay the neceſſity of keeping Canada, I have already ſhown; and therefore I ſhall go on with my account of the Indians.

When laſt in London, I remember to have heard ſome coffee-houſe politicians, chagrined at the devaſtation they made on our back ſettlements, ſay, that it would be an eaſy matter to root out the ſavages by clearing the ground. I anſwer, that the taſk may ſeem eaſy to them, but the execution of ſuch a ſcheme on ſuch a tract of land, would be ſo difficult, that I doubt whether there are people enough in Great Britain and Ireland to accompliſh it in a hundred years time, were they to meet with no oppoſition; but where there is ſuch a ſubtle enemy to deal with, I am afraid we ſhould make but little progreſs in reducing the Indians, even allowing the country to be all cleared, as there are hills and other faſtneſſes to which the Indians can retire, and where they would greatly have the better of every attempt to diſlodge them. The only way I would adviſe, is to keep friends with the Indians, and endeavour to prevail on them to ſettle in the ſame manner as the planters do, which they will be the more eaſily brought to, if the French are excluded from Canada. For, notwithſtanding their wandering way of life, I have the greateſt reaſon to believe they have no diſlike to an eaſy life. And as they will have no temptations to murder, as they had when ſtirred

up

up by the ſubjects of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, they will ſoon become uſeful members of ſociety.

When firſt the Engliſh arrived in the American colonies, they found the woods inhabited by a race of people, uncultivated in their manners, but not quite devoid of humanity. They were ſtrangers to literature, ignorant of the liberal arts, and deſtitute of almoſt every conveniency of life.

But if they were unpractiſed in the arts of more civilized nations, they were alſo free from their vices. They ſeemed perfect in two parts of the ancient Perſian education, namely, ſhooting with the bow, and ſpeaking truth. In their dealings they commonly exchange one commodity for another. Strangers themſelves to fraud, they had an entire confidence in others. According to their abilities, they were generous and hoſpitable. Happy, thrice happy had they been, if, ſtill preſerving their native innocence and ſimplicity, they had only been inſtructed in the knowledge of God, and the doctrines of Chriſtianity! Had they been taught ſome of the more uſeful parts of life, and to lay aſide what was wild and ſavage in their manners!

They received the Engliſh, upon their firſt arrival, with open arms, treated them kindly, and ſhewed an earneſt deſire, that they ſhould ſettle and live with them. They freely parted with ſome of their lands to their new-come brethren, and chearfully entered into a league of friendſhip with them. As the Engliſh were in immediate want of the aſſiſtance of the Indians, they, on their part, endeavoured to make their coming agreeable. Thus they lived for ſome years, in the mutual exchange of friendly offices. Their houſes were open to each other; they treated one another as brothers. But by their different way of living, the Engliſh ſoon acquired property, while the Indians continued in their former indigence; hence the former found they could eaſily

live without the latter, and therefore became leſs anxious about preſerving their friendſhip. This gave a check to that mutual hoſpitality that had hitherto ſubſiſted between them; and this, together with the decreaſe of game for hunting, ariſing from the increaſe of the Engliſh ſettlements, induced the Indians to remove further back into the woods.

From this time the natives began to be treated as a people of whom an advantage might be taken. As the trade with them was free and open, men of looſe and abandoned characters engaged in it, and practiſed every fraud. Before the coming of the white people, the Indians never taſted ſpirituous liquors, and, like moſt barbarous nations, having once taſted, became immoderately fond thereof, and had no longer any government of themſelves. The traders availed themſelves of this weakneſs; inſtead of carrying our cloaths to cover the naked ſavages, they carried them rum, and thereby debauched their manners, weakened their conſtitutions, introduced diſorders unknown to them before, and in ſhort corrupted and ruined them.

The Indians finding the ill effects of this trade, began to complain. Wherefore laws were made, prohibiting any from going to trade with them without a licenſe from the Governor, and it was alſo made lawful for the Indians to ſtave the caſks, and ſpill what rum was brought among them; but this was to little purpoſe: the Indians had too little command of themſelves to do their duty, and were eaſily prevailed upon not to execute this law; and the deſign of the former was totally evaded, by men of ſome character taking out licenſes to trade, and then employing under them perſons of no honour or principle, generally ſervants and convicts tranſported hither from Britain and Ireland, whom they ſent with goods into the Indian country to trade on their account. Theſe getting beyond the reach

of

of the law, executed unheard-of villanies upon the poor natives, committing crimes which modeſty forbids to name, and behaving in a manner too ſhocking to be related.

At every treaty which the Indians held with the Engliſh, they complained of the abuſes they ſuffered from the traders, and trade as then carried on. They requeſted that the traders might be recalled; but all to no purpoſe. They begged, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that no rum might be ſuffered to come among them; but were only told they were at liberty to ſpill all the rum brought into their country. At this time, little or no pains was taken to civilize or inſtruct them in the Chriſtian religion, till at length the conduct of the traders, profeſſing themſelves of that religion, gave the Indians an almoſt invincible prejudice againſt it. Beſides, as theſe traders travelled among diſtant nations of the Indians, and were in ſome ſort the repreſentatives of the Engliſh, from them the Indians formed a very unfavourable opinion of our whole nation, and eaſily believed every miſrepreſentation made of us by our enemies. There are inſtances in hiſtory, where the virtue and diſintereſted behaviour of one man have prejudiced whole nations of barbarians in favour of the people to whom he belonged; and is it then to be wondered at, if the Indians conceived a rooted prejudice againſt us, when not one, but a whole ſet of men, namely, all of our nation, that they had an opportunity of ſeeing or converſing with, were perſons of a looſe or abandoned behaviour, inſincere and faithleſs, without religion, virtue, or morality? No one will think I exaggerate theſe matters, who has either known the traders themſelves, or who has read the public treaties.

If to this be added, what I find in the late treaties, that they have been wronged in ſome of their

lands, what room will there be any longer to wonder, that we have ſo little intereſt with them; that their conduct towards us is of late ſo much changed, that, inſtead of being a ſecurity and protection to us, as they have been hitherto, during the ſeveral wars between us and the French, they are now turned againſt us and become our enemies, principally on account of the fraudulent dealings and immoral conduct of thoſe heretofore employed in our trade with them, who have brought diſhonour upon our religion, and diſgrace on our nation? It nearly concerns us, if poſſible, to wipe off theſe reproaches, and to redeem our character, which can only be done by regulating the trade.—And this the Indians, with whom the government of Philadelphia lately treated, demanded and expected of us.

At preſent, a favourable opportunity preſents for doing it effectually. All thoſe who were engaged in this trade, are by the preſent troubles removed from it; and it is to be hoped that the legiſlature will fall upon meaſures to prevent any ſuch from ever being concerned in it again. This is the only foundation upon which we can expect a laſting peace with the natives. It is evident that a great deal depends upon the perſons who are to be ſent into the Indian country: from theſe alone the Indians will form a judgment of us, our religion, and manners. If theſe then who are to be our repreſentatives among the Indians, be men of virtue and integrity, ſober in their converſation, honeſt in their dealings, and whoſe practice correſponds with their profeſſion, the judgment formed of us will be favourable: if, on the contrary, they be looſe and profane perſons, men of wicked lives, and profligate morals, we muſt expect that, among the Indians, our religion will paſs for a jeſt, and we in general for a people faithleſs and deſpicable.

I might

I might here add ſome obſervations reſpecting the commodities proper to be carried among the Indians, in kind as well as quality, with a method of carrying on the trade, ſo as to preſerve the native innocence of the Indians, and at the ſame time confirm them immoveable in our intereſt; but theſe things, as well as ſome remarks I have in a courſe of years made upon the Indians, I ſhall leave for the ſubject of ſome future hiſtory.

I ſhall now proceed to give a conciſe account of the climates, produce, trade, &c. of North America. And firſt,

Of NEW-ENGLAND.

The province of New-England appears to be vaſtly extenſive, being about 400 miles in length, and near 300 in breadth, ſituated between 69 and 73 deg. W. long. and between 41 and 46 deg. N. lat. It was firſt ſettled by the Independents, a little before the commencement of the civil wars in England: They tranſported themſelves thither, rather than they would communicate with the church of England.

The lands next the ſea in New-England, are generally low, and the ſoil ſandy; but farther up the country, it riſes into hills, and on the north-eaſt it is rocky and mountainous: The winters are much ſeverer here than in Old England, though it lies 9 or 10 degrees more ſouth, but they have uſually a clearer ſky and more ſettled weather, both in winter and ſummer, than in Old England; and though their ſummers are ſhorter, the air is conſiderably hotter while it laſts. The winds are very boiſterous in the winter ſeaſon, and the north wind blowing over a long tract of frozen and uncultivated countries, with ſeveral freſh water lakes, makes it

exceſſive cold. Their rivers are ſometimes congealed in a night's time: the climate is generally healthful, and agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions.

The fruits of Old England come to great perfection here, particularly peaches, which are planted trees; and we have commonly 1200 or 1400 fine peaches on ſuch a tree at one time; nay, of the fruit of one ſingle apple tree, in one ſeaſon, nine barrels of cyder have been made. Engliſh wheat I find does not thrive here, within 40 or 50 miles of Boſton; but farther up in the country, they have it in great plenty, and I think it comes to the ſame perfection as in Britain. Now, why wheat ſhould not grow near this city, I confeſs I can aſſign no reaſon that will fully ſatisfy the reader's curioſity. The conjectures upon it are various: Some venture to ſay, that it was occaſioned by the unjuſt perſecution of the Quakers, the Independents having vented their ſpleen againſt them in a way the moſt rigorous, and in flat contradiction to the laws of Chriſtianity. All other grain but wheat thrives in this place with great ſucceſs; in particular Indian corn, one grain whereof frequently produces 1200, and ſometimes 2000 grains. This corn is of three different colours, *viz.* blue, white, and yellow.

Of NEW-YORK.

The ſituation of this province is between 72 and 76 weſt long. and between 41 and 44 north lat. being about 200 miles in length, and 100 miles in breadth. The lands, in the Jerſeys and ſouth part of New York, are low and flat; but as you aſcend 20 or 30 miles up Hudſon's river, the country is rocky and mountainous. The air is much milder here in winter than in New-England, and in ſummer it is pretty much the ſame. The produce and trade

trade of New York and the Jerſeys conſiſt in cattle, and a good breed of horſes. They have plenty of wheat and other grain, ſuch as Indian corn, buck-weed, oats, barley, and rye. It abounds alſo with ſtore of fiſh: they ſupply the ſugar iſlands with flower, ſalt beef, pork, ſalt fiſh, and timber planks, in return for the produce raiſed there.

Of PENSYLVANIA.

The extent of this colony is 200 miles in length, and 200 miles in breadth. The ſoil is much better than in Jerſey, chiefly conſiſting of a black mould; the country riſes gradually as in the adjacent provinces, having the Apalachian mountains on the weſt, and is divided into ſix counties. The air, it lying in the 40 deg. of N. lat. is near the ſame as in New York, and very healthy to Engliſh conſtitutions. The produce and merchandiſe of Penſylvania conſiſts in horſes, pipe ſtaves, beef, pork, ſalt fiſh, ſkins, furs, and all ſorts of grain; *viz.* wheat, rye, peaſe, oats, barley, buck-weed, Indian corn, Indian peaſe, beans, pot-aſhes, wax, *&c.* and in return for theſe commodities, they import from the Carribee iſlands, and other places, rum, ſugar, melaſſes, ſilver, negroes, ſalt, and clothing of all ſorts, hardware, *&c.* The nature of the ſoil in Penſylvania, the Jerſeys, and New York, is extremely proper to produce hemp, flax, *&c.*

If the government of Penſylvania, ſince the death of its firſt proprietor, William Penn, had taken proper methods to oblige the traders to deal juſtly with the Indians, whoſe tempers, when exaſperated with reſentment, are more ſavage than the hungry lion, theſe diſaſters might have been, in a good degree, prevented.

I intend

I intend to conclude this argument in a few words, and ſhall endeavour to do juſtice on both ſides, by adhering ſtrictly to truth. Know, therefore, that within theſe late years, the Indians being tolerably acquainted with the nature of our commerce, have detected the roguery of ſome of the traders, whereupon they lodged many and grievous complants to Col. Weiſer, the interpreter between them and the Engliſh, of the injurious and fraudulent uſage they had received for ſeveral years backwards from white people, who had cheated them out of their ſkins and furs, not giving them one quarter their value for them.

Likewiſe they remonſtrated, that whereas hunting was the chief way or art they ever had to earn a livelihood by; game was now become very ſcarce, becauſe the whites practiſed it ſo much on their ground, deſtroying their prey. Colonel Weiſer, their interpreter, adviſed them to bring down their ſkins and furs to Philadelphia themſelves, promiſing that he would take proper care to ſee their goods vended to their advantage. Whereupon they did ſo, in purſuance of his inſtructions, and finding it their intereſt, reſolved to continue in the way he had chalked out for them; for now they were ſupplied with every thing they wanted from the merchants ſhops, at the cheapeſt rates. And thus it plainly appeared to the Indians, that they had been long impoſed on by the traders, and therefore they were determined to have no more dealings with them. This conduct and ſhyneſs of the Indians was very diſagreeable to ſeveral gentlemen of the province, who were nearly intereſted in that ſpecies of commerce.

Accordingly, in the year 1753 and 1754, ſome of the traders had the aſſurance to renew their friendſhip with them, when, inſtead of remitting them cloaths and other neceſſaries as had been uſual,

uſual, and were moſt proper for them, they, with inſidious purpoſes, carried them large quantities of rum in ſmall caſks, which they knew the natives were fond of, under colour of giving it them *gratis*. In this manner were the ſavages inveigled into liquor by the whites, who took the opportunity, while they were intoxicated, of going off with their ſkins and furs; but the natives, recovering from the debauch, ſoon detected the villany, and, in revenge, killed many of the traders, and went directly over to the French, who encouraged them to ſlay every Engliſh perſon they could meet with, and deſtroy their houſes by fire, giving them orders to ſpare neither man, woman, nor child. Beſides, as a farther incitement to diligence in this bloody taſk, they promiſed the ſavages a reward of 15*l.* Sterling, for every ſcalp they ſhould take, on producing the ſame before any of his *Moſt Chriſtian* Majeſty's officers, civil or military.

Thus our perfidious enemies inſtigated thoſe unreaſonable barbarians to commence acts of depredation, violence, and murder, on the ſeveral inhabitants of North America in 1754, and more eſpecially in Penſylvania, as knowing it to be the moſt defenceleſs province on the continent. This conſideration prompted the ſavage race to exhauſt their malicious fury on it in particular.

Of MARYLAND.

This country extends about 150 miles in length, and 137 miles in breadth. The lands are low and flat next the ſea; towards the heads of rivers they riſe into hills, and beyond lie the Apalachian mountains, which are exceeding high. The air of this province is exceſſive hot ſome part of the ſummer, and equally cold in the winter, when the north-weſt

weſt wind blows; but the winters are not of ſo long duration here as in ſome other colonies adjoining to it. In the ſpring of the year, they are infeſted with thick heavy fogs that riſe from the low lands, which render the air more unhealthy for Engliſh conſtitutions; and hence it is, that, in the aforeſaid ſeaſon, the people are conſtantly afflicted with agues.

The produce of this country is chiefly tobacco, planted and cultivated here with much application, and nearly the ſame ſucceſs as in Virginia, and their principal trade with England is in that article. It alſo affords them moſt ſorts of the grain and fruits of Europe and America.

Of VIRGINIA.

The extent of this province is computed to be 260 miles in length, 220 miles in breadth, being moſtly low flat land. For one hundred miles up the country, there is ſcarce a hill or a ſtone to be ſeen. The air and ſeaſons (it lying beween 36 and 39 of north lat.) depend very much on the wind, as to heat and cold, dryneſs and moiſture. The north and north-weſt winds are very nitrous and piercing cold, or elſe boiſterous and ſtormy: The ſouth and ſouth-eaſt winds, hazy and ſultry hot. In winter they have a fine clear air, which renders it very pleaſant: The froſts are ſhort, but ſometimes ſo very ſharp that rivers are frozen over three miles broad. Snow often falls in large quantities; but ſeldom continues above two or three days at moſt.

The ſoil, though generally ſandy and ſhallow, produces tobacco of the beſt quality, in great abundance. The people's uſual food is Indian corn made into hommony, boiled to a pulp, and comes the neareſt to buttered wheat of any thing I can compare

pare it to. They have horſes, cows, ſheep, and hogs in prodigious plenty, many of the laſt running wild in the woods. The regulation kept here is much the ſame as in New England; every man from 16 to 60 years of age is inliſted into the militia, and muſtered once a-year at a general review, and four times a-year by troops and companies.—Their military complement, by computation, amounts to about 30,000 effective men; the collective number of the inhabitants, men, women and children, to 100,500, and including ſervants and ſlaves, to twice that number.

Of CAROLINA.

This colony is computed to extend 660 miles in length; but its breadth is unknown. The lands here are generally low and flat, and not a hill to be ſeen from St. Auguſtine to Virginia, and a great way beyond. It is moſtly covered with woods, where the planters have not cleared it. About 100 miles weſt of the coaſt, it ſhoots up into eminences, and continues to riſe gradually all along to the Apalachian mountains, which are about 160 miles diſtant from the ocean. The north parts of Carolina are very uneven, but the ground is extremely proper for producing wheat; and all other ſorts of grain that grow in Europe, will come to great perfection here. The ſouth parts of Carolina, if properly cultivated, might be made to produce ſilk, wine, and oil. This country yields large quantities of rice, of which they yearly ſhip off to other colonies about 80,000 barrels, each barrel containing 400 weight; beſides they make abundance of tar, pitch, and turpentine. They carry on alſo a great trade with deer-ſkins, and furs, to all places of Europe, which the Engliſh receive from the Indians in bar-

ter

ter for guns, powder, knives, ſciſſars, looking-glaſſes, beads, rum, tobacco, coarſe cloth, &c.

The Engliſh chapmen carry their pack-horſes five or ſix hundred miles into the country, weſt of Chareſtown; but moſt of the commerce is confined within the limits of the Creek and Cherokee nations, which do not lie above 350 miles from the coaſt. The air is very temperate and agreeable both ſummer and winter. Carolina is divided into two diſtinct provinces, *viz.* North and South Carolina.

Of NOVA-SCOTIA.

This place extends about 600 miles in length, and 450 in breadth: The air is pretty much the ſame as in Old England: The ſoil is, for the moſt part, barren; but where it is cleared and cultivated, it affords good corn and paſture. Here is fine timber, and fit for building, from whence pitch and tar may be extracted. Here alſo hemp and flax will grow, ſo that this country will be capable of furniſhing all manner of naval ſtores. It abounds likewiſe with deer, wild fowl, and all ſorts of game. On the coaſt is one of the fineſt cod-fiſheries in the world. European cattle, *viz.* ſheep, oxen, ſwine, horſes, &c. they have in great abundance. The winters are very cold, their froſts being ſharp and of a long duration: Their ſummers are moderately hot; ſo that the climate, in the main, ſeems to be agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions.

Of CANADA.

I ſhall cloſe the deſcription of the American colonies with a ſhort account of the ſoil and produce of French Canada. Its extent is, according to their map, 1800 miles in length, and 1260 in breadth. The ſoil, in the low lands near the river St. Laurence,

rence, will indeed raiſe wheat; but, withal, I found it ſo ſhallow, that it would not produce that grain above two years, unleſs it was properly manured. About 20 miles from the ſaid river, ſo hilly and mountainous is the country, that nothing but Indians and wild ravenous beaſts reſort there. However, they have plenty of rye, Indian corn, buckweed, and oats; likewiſe of horſes, cows, ſheep, ſwine, &c. But I have obſerved that fruits of any kind do not come to ſuch perfection here as in ſome of the Engliſh ſettlements, which is owing to the long duration and exceſſive cold of their winters. The ſummer is ſhort, and temperately hot. The climate, in general, is healthy and agreeable to European conſtitutions. And ſo much for the provinces in North America.

It is now high time to return to the embarkation at Quebec. Five hundred of us, being to be ſent to England, were put on board La Renomme, a French paquet-boat, Captain Dennis Vitree commander: we ſailed under a flag of truce, and though the French behaved with a good deal of politeneſs, yet we were almoſt ſtarved for want of proviſions. One biſcuit, and two ounces of pork a-day, being all our allowance, and half dead with cold, having but few clothes, and the veſſel being ſo ſmall, that the major part of us were obliged to be upon deck in all weathers. After a paſſage of ſix weeks, we at laſt, to our great joy, arrived at Plymouth, on the ſixth of November 1756. But theſe our troubles and hardſhips were not, as we expected, put to a period for ſome time; ſcruples ariſing to the Commiſſaries and Admiral there, about taking us on ſhore, as there was no cartel agreed on between the French and Engliſh, we were confined on board, until the determination of the Lords of the Admiralty ſhould be known; lying there in a miſerable

condition ſeven or eight days, before we received orders to diſembark, which, when we were *permitted* to do, being ordered from thence, in different parties, to Totneſs, Kingſbridge, Newton Buſhel, Newton Abbot in Devonſhire, I was happy in being quartered at Kingſbridge, where I met with ſuch civility and entertainment as I had for a long time been a ſtranger to.

In about four months we were again ordered to Plymouth-dock, to be draughted into other regiments; where, on being inſpected, I was, on account of the wound I had received in my hand, diſcharged as *incapable* of *furtlier* ſervice; and was allowed the ſum of ſix ſhillings to carry me home to Aberdeen, near the place of my nativity. But finding that ſum inſufficient to ſubſiſt me half the way, I was obliged to make my application to the honourable gentlemen of the city of York, who, on conſidering my neceſſity, and reviewing my manuſcript on the tranſactions of the Indians, herein before mentioned, thought proper to have it printed for my own benefit, which they chearfully ſubſcribed unto. And after diſpoſing of ſeveral of my books through the ſhire, I took the firſt opportunity of going in queſt of my relations at Aberdeen, where I received very barbarous uſage and ill treatment, occaſioned by complaining againſt the illegal practice of *kidnapping*, in the beginning of my book, which I ſhall hereafter finally diſcribe in the following pages.

A DIS-

A DISCOURSE ON KIDNAPPING:

With proper directions for tradeſmen and others, to avoid ſlavery, when tranſported from their native country, by the inſtigation of perfidious traders.

TO make the ſubject of the enſuing pages the more accurate and diſtinct, I ſhall, in the *firſt* place, begin with the proceedings of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, when I arrived in that town in June 1758, after having completed the period of my ſlavery, as related in the beginning of this narrative. No ſooner had I offered this little work to ſale in that town, which was then my only means of ſubſiſtence, than I was arraigned in a ſummary complaint at the inſtance of the Magiſtrates, before their own tribunal, and carried by three or four town-officers to the bar of that tremendous Court of Judicature. The complaint exhibited againſt me contained in ſubſtance, "That I had been guilty of cauſing print, and of publiſhing and diſperſing this ſcurrilous and infamous libel, reflecting greatly upon the characters and reputations of the merchants in Aberdeen, and on the town in general, without any ground or reaſon; whereby the corporation of the city, and whole members thereof, were greatly hurt and prejudged; and that therefore I ought to be exemplarily puniſhed in my perſon and goods; and that the ſaid book, and whole copies thereof, ought to be ſeized and publicly burnt." Such was the tenor of the complaint; and inſtead of allowing me an opportunity of taking advice, in time to prepare for my defence, I was hurried before them, and concuſſed by threats

of impriſonment to make a declaration of a very extraordinary caſt, and dictated by themſelves; bearing, that "I had no ground for advancing and uttering the calumnies mentioned in my book againſt the merchants in Aberdeen, *but the fancy I took in my younger years, which ſtuck on my memory, though I did not find that I had reaſon ſo to do; nor did I believe theſe things to be true;* and that I was willing to contradict, in a public manner, what I had ſo advanced," &c.

After eliciting this declaration, the Magiſtrates, without adjournment, "appointed me to find caution to ſtand trial on the ſaid complaint at any time when called for, and impriſoned till performance; and ordered all the copies of my books to be lodged in the clerks chamber." My books were accordingly ſeized, and myſelf committed to the cuſtody of the town-officers, who conducted me to jail, and where I muſt have lain till next day, had not my landlord bailed me out. Next forenoon the Magiſtrates proceeded to ſentence on their own complaint; and accordingly they "ordained the offenſive leaves of all the copies of the ſaid book to be cut out, and publicly burnt at the market-croſs by the hands of the common hangman, the town-officers attending and publiſhing the cauſe of the burning; that I ſhould give in a ſigned declaration of much the ſame tenor with the former; begging pardon of the magiſtrates and merchants in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, and deſiring this my recantation to be inſerted in the York newſpapers, or any other newſpapers they ſhould think proper; and alſo ordained me to be incarcerated in the tol-booth, till I granted the ſaid declaration; and amerciated me in ten ſhillings Sterling, under the pain of impriſonment; and immediately after to remove out of town."

Such

Such was the ſentence of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt me, every particular of which was forthwith put in execution in the moſt rigorous manner. Had theſe judges had the leaſt reflection, they muſt have been conſcious, that, in every ſtep of their procedure, they were committing the groſſeſt abuſe. The complaint was made by their order and direction, and ſerved at their own inſtigation, by which means they were firſt the Accuſers, and afterwards the Condemners. The ſubject of it was ſo irrelevant, that they muſt have been ſenſible they were proſecuting an innocent man, for relating the melancholy particulars of his life, which ought to have rendered him rather an object of their protection, than of their malice. The facts he had ſet forth in his book, relating to the original of his misfortunes, were ſo flagrant, that, had he ſued for it, he was entitled to redreſs againſt the authors of his miſeries, from thoſe very Magiſtrates who now had the cruelty to aggravate them, by inflicting additional hardſhips. To pretend ignorance is a very lame excuſe. He muſt have been a very youthful Magiſtrate in 1758, who could not remember ſome circumſtances of a public branch of trade carried on in 1744. It is inconceivable, that, of a whole bench of Magiſtrates, no leſs than ſix in number, not one was of an age capable of recollecting what had happened only fourteen years before; nor is it to be preſumed, that, of almoſt all the inhabitants of Aberdeen, they alone, who had the beſt acceſs to know the traffic of the town, ſhould remain ignorant of a commerce, which was carried on in the market-places, on the high ſtreets, and in the avenues to the town, in the moſt public manner. Neither of theſe ſuppoſitions will eaſily gain credit. The Magiſtrates are commonly of ſuch an age, and ought to be men of ſuch reflection, as to render the firſt im-

poſſible; and the ſecond, for the reaſons given above, is equally incredible. Every impartial perſon muſt therefore be perſuaded, that the Magiſtrates were not unacquainted with that illicit ſpecies of trade openly carried on in that city about the year 1744, and prior to that period. To prove that there was ſuch an infamous traffic, I appeal to the depoſitions of ſeveral witneſſes, ſome of whom ſhared in the calamity by the loſs of their children and other relations. Theſe I have ſubjoined, as they occur in the proof taken on my part, by way of notes to the treatiſe.

From theſe vouchers it appears, that the trade of carrying off boys to the Plantations in America, and ſelling them there as ſlaves, was carried on at Aberdeen, as far down as the year 1744, with an amazing effrontery. It was not carried on in ſecret, or by ſtealth, but publicly, and by open violence. The whole neighbouring country were alarmed at it. They would not allow their children to go to Aberdeen, for fear of being kidnapped. When they kept them at home, emiſſaries were ſent out by the merchants, who took them by violence from their parents, and carried them off. If a child was amiſſing, it was immediately ſuſpected that he was kidnapped by the Aberdeen merchants; and, upon inquiry, that was often found to be the caſe; and ſo little pains were taken to conceal them, when in the poſſeſſion of the merchants, that they were driven in flocks through the town, under the inſpection of a keeper, who overawed them with a whip, like ſo many ſheep carrying to the ſlaughter. Not only were theſe flocks of unhappy children locked up in barns, and places of private confinement, but even the tolbooth and public work-houſes were made receptacles for them, and a town-officer employed in keeping them. Parties of worthleſs fellows, like preſs-gangs, were hired

hired to patrol the ſtreets, and ſeize by force ſuch boys as ſeemed proper ſubjects for the ſlave-trade. The practice was but too general. The names of no

Depoſitions of witneſſes on the part of Peter Williamſon.

ALEXANDER KING depones, That he knew the deceaſed James Williamſon, in Hirnley, in the pariſh of Aboyne: That the ſaid James Williamſon had a ſon, named Peter Williamſon, whom the Deponent knew when he was a boy; and he ſeeing the ſaid Peter Williamſon immediately at his emitting this depoſition, he is very ſure that he is the identical Peter Williamſon, whom he knew when he was a boy. Depones, That ſome years before the battle of Culloden, and, ſo far as he remembers, he believes it was upwards of four years before the battle of Culloden, it was the general report of the country, that when the ſaid Peter Williamſon, the Purſuer, was a little boy, going with a clipped head, he was taken at Aberdeen, and carried to Philadelphia, along with ſeveral other boys. Depones, That, about that time, the Deponent had a converſation with the ſaid James Williamſon concerning his ſon Peter, who told the Deponent ſeveral times, that he came into Aberdeen ſeeking his ſon Peter, but they would not let him near hand him. Depones, That the ſaid James Williamſon told the Deponent, that his ſon Peter was in cuſtody in a barn at Aberdeen, and they would not let him ſpeak to him; and afterwards, the ſaid James Williamſon told the Deponent, that the merchants of Aberdeen had carried away his ſon to Philadelphia, and ſold him for a ſlave. Depones, That he heard in the country by report, that John Elphingſton merchant in Aberdeen, and one Black a merchant there, whether James or George he does not remember, did deal in that way of carrying away boys. And further depones, That the ſaid James Williamſon told him, the Deponent, that his ſon Peter was carried away without his conſent, and he ſaw the father ſhed many ſalt tears on that account.

JOHN

no leſs than fifteen merchants, concerned in this trade, are mentioned in the proof: And when ſo many are ſingled out by the witneſſes, it is hardly to

JOHN WILSON depones, That he knew, and was well acquainted with James Williamſon, in Hirnley, and with all his children, particularly his ſon Peter Williamſon. Depones, That the ſaid Peter Williamſon having gone to Aberdeen, as the Deponent was informed, he was carried away therefrom to the Plantations; and when his father and friends miſſed him, they made ſearch for him many ways in the country, but could not find him; and the ſaid James Williamſon went to Aberdeen in ſearch of him, and, upon his return, he told the Deponent, that he had been at Aberdeen ſeeking his ſon Peter, but could not find him, and was informed that he was taken up at Aberdeen, and carried to the Plantations. Depones, That he believes, when the ſaid Peter Williamſon was amiſſing, he was about eight or ten years of age, and was a ſtout boy; and the Deponent ſeeing the ſaid Peter Williamſon immediately at emitting this depoſition, he is ſure that he is the identical perſon whom he knew, before he went away, to be James Williamſon's ſon, and was at the ſaid Peter Williamſon's baptiſm.

FRANCIS FRASER of Findrack, Eſq. depones, That, about twenty years ago, he knew the deceaſed James Williamſon living in Upper Balnacraig, in the pariſh of Lumphanan, and that he heard the ſaid James Williamſon lived formerly in Hirnley, in the pariſh of Aboyne. Depones, He knew ſeveral of the ſaid James Williamſon's children, and he heard it was the practice of ſome of the merchants of Aberdeen to kidnap young children, and ſend them to the Plantations to be ſold for ſlaves. Depones, He heard in the country, that the ſaid James Williamſon, or his wife, had gone into Aberdeen, and one of their ſons, called Peter Williamſon, had followed, and that James Smith, ſaddler in Aberdeen, had picked the ſaid Peter; and the Deponent heard he was either put in priſon, or put on board a ſhip, till the ſhip ſailed.

Depones,

to be imagined it ſhould be confined to theſe only, but that they muſt have omitted many, who were either principals, or abettors and decoys in this infamous

Depones, It was the voice of the country, that James Williamſon and his wife regretted, or made a clamour for the loſs of their ſon, not knowing what was become of him.

Robert Reid depones, That, to the beſt of his remembrance, he came to Aberdeen in the year 1740, to ſee his ſiſter; that his ſiſter propoſed to the Deponent to go to a barn, to ſee the country boys who were going over to Philadelphia, and to carry home to their parents ſome accounts of them; that the Deponent accordingly went over, and heard muſic and a great noiſe in ſaid barn, but the Deponent refuſed to go in, becauſe it occurred to him, that he had heard in his own country that many boys had been decoyed by particular artifices of merchants (and he has heard John Burnet named) to go over to America. Depones, That he was told that the number of boys in the ſaid barn was between thirty and forty. Depones, That, ſome time after this, the Deponent's mother refuſed to allow the Deponent to go into Aberdeen, and mentioned as the reaſon of this refuſal, that the ſon of one Williamſon, a tenant of Lord Aboyne's, in Hirnley, and who lived within two miles of her, was amiſſing.

Isabel Wilson depones, That ſhe went to Aberdeen in the year 1740, and lived there for ſeven years and a half, and that ſhe heard it frequently reported in Aberdeen, that many young people of both ſexes were decoyed by the artifices of merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet and John Elphingſton, to engage to go over to America. That ſhe once went into a malt-barn to ſee one Peter Ley, who had engaged to go to America, and might be about thirty years of age: that, upon that occaſion, ſhe ſaw the barn full of boys and men, to the number of fifty and upwards, as ſhe believes, and that they had a piper amongſt them; and that particularly

infamous traffic. Some of the witneſſes depone, That it was the general opinion, that the Magiſtrates themſelves had a hand in it. But what exceeds every

larly ſhe ſaw two young boys, called Elſmies, whom ſhe knew, and who were the ſons of a widow-woman there; the youngeſt of whom appeared to her to be about ten years of age, and the eldeſt about fourteen years. Depones, That after ſhe left Aberdeen and went back to her own country, ſhe has heard James Williamſon, tenant of Lord Aboyne, in the town of Hirnley, frequently complain that a ſon of his had been amiſſing, and he did not know what became of him.

Margaret Reid depones, That, about the year 1740 or 41, ſhe heard that many young boys were decoyed by merchants in Aberdeen, particularly John Burnet, to go over to America; and that, about that time, one Peter Ley, and two brothers of the name of Elſmie, who lived in Aboyne, in the Deponent's neighbourhood, were amiſſing, and were much regretted by their mother, and who were believed to have been carried over to America. Depones, That, in the pariſh of Aboyne, they were generally afraid to ſend their boys on errands to Aberdeen, for fear they ſhould be carried off. Depones, That ſhe did not know the age of the ſaid two Elſmies, but from their appearance, the one might be ten or twelve, and the other ſeven or eight years. Depones, That James Williamſon, tenant in Hirnley, of Aboyne, had a ſon who was amiſſing, whoſe name was Peter, and who the Deponent knew very well at that time, and who in the year 1740, might be nine or ten years of age, in the Deponent's opinion; that in that year he was ſent into Aberdeen to be under his aunt's care, his mother being dead: That ſoon thereafter he was amiſſing, and the Deponent has frequently heard his father regret him very much, who went into Aberdeen in ſearch of him, but could not find him; and that it was the general opinion of the country, and the opinion of his father alſo, that he was carried over to America.

George

every proof, and is equal to an acknowledgment, is, that, from a book of accounts, recovered on leading the proof, recording the expences laid out on

GEORGE JOHNSTON depones, That he was ſent over to Virginia by an uncle, to be put under the care of a friend there; that the ſhip in which he ſailed was called the Indian Queen, Captain Ferguſon commander; and the ſaid ſhip ſailed from Aberdeen, and had above ſixty boys on board, under indentures to ſerve for a number of years in Virginia: That, as the Deponent has been frequently informed, many of theſe boys were engaged by different artifices to enter into the ſaid indentures, without the conſent of their parents; and the Deponent particularly knows, that there were two brothers went over in the ſaid ſhip, *to wit*, James and William Sheds, the eldeſt of whom was about fifteen years of age, and the other about ſix years; that theſe two brothers were bought by one John Graham, in Quantigo Creek, in Virginia; that the eldeſt ſerved out the time of his indenture, which was five years, and the youngeſt was adjudged to ſerve the ſaid John Graham until he was twenty-one years of age. Depones, That he has been well informed, that James Abernethy, John Elphingſton, and John Burnet, merchants in Aberdeen, were very much employed in engaging boys as aforeſaid. Depones, That he knows that ſix or ſeven of the boys before mentioned were ſold in Virginia to different maſters; one of them, named Thomas Whitehead, was ſold to the Deponent's maſter; that one of them, called James Shed, the youngeſt of the two Sheds above mentioned, was ſold to a planter within three miles of where the Deponent lived; that he deſerted his maſter's ſervice, was apprehended, and whipped for ſo doing, and adjudged to ſerve for a year longer than otherwiſe he was obliged to do, he having deſerted his ſervice for the ſpace of a month. Depones, That he knows that in the year 1745, there came a ſhip from Aberdeen to Virginia, and that he was particularly acquainted with Thomas Whitehead above mentioned, who, upon recollection, he remembers came

on one cargo of theſe unfortunate objects, it appears, that no leſs than ſixty-nine boys and girls were carried over to America along with me, all of

came over a paſſenger in that ſhip, and not in the ſhip before mentioned; that the ſaid Thomas Whitehead acquainted the Deponent, that he was engaged by James Abernethy, merchant in Aberdeen, to go to Virginia to ſerve there. Depones, That the boys brought over as above, and engaged to ſerve in Virginia, are in uſe to be maintained by their maſters during the time of their ſervice; and at the end of their ſervice to get 50*s.* Sterling, and have no other encouragement. Depones, That during their ſervice, they are commonly very harſhly uſed by their maſters, and kept upon a very coarſe diet, ſo that they are often forced to deſperate meaſures, and to make away with themſelves. Depones, That he returned to Britain in the end of the year 1745, and ſoon thereafter came to Aberdeen; and that there ſeveral of the parents of the children that had gone over with him, came to the Deponent, and with great anxiety inquired after their children; and particularly, one Helen Law aſked the Deponent about her ſon; and at the ſame time poured out a great many curſes upon the ſaid James Abernethy, for decoying young boys, and ſending them to America, and particularly her own ſon; and that this ſhe did in preſence of the ſaid James Abernethy. And depones, That the Deponent was ſent down by his maſter along with John Spriggs, to bring up the ſaid Thomas Whitehead, together with ſeveral others of the boys that came along with him, in order for ſale. Depones That he never ſaw the Purſuer in Virginia, but has good reaſon to believe he was there, not only becauſe ſome of his neareſt relations had told him ſo, but that he himſelf had converſed particularly with him, with regard to ſeveral perſons and places there, of which he gave a juſt and true account.

ALEXANDER GRIGERSON depones, That he and another boy (whoſe name he does not remember) were coming

of whom ſuffered the ſame fate of being ſhip-wrecked, and many of them, that of being ſold as ſlaves.

After coming from the mill of Crathy, where they had been ſeeking their meat, and near to a birch-wood near to the kirk of Crathy, three countrymen on horſeback came up with them, but the Deponent knew none of them; and they aſked the Deponent and the other boy that was along with him, if they would go with them, and they would clothe them like gentlemen, and ſaid very kind things to them; but the Deponent, being elder than the other boy, made anſwer, That they would not go along with them; for it ſtruck the Deponent in the head, that perhaps he and the other boy were to be carried abroad, in reſpect of a rumour prevailing in the country, that young boys were carried abroad at that time. Depones, That upon their refuſing to go along with the ſaid three men, they ſaid they would force them; and thereupon alighted from their horſes; and while the ſaid three men were tying their horſes to growing trees, he, the Deponent, and the other boy, run away into the wood, and hid themſelves into a thick buſh, and the three men followed them, but did not find them, though they paſſed by within three yards of them; and the Deponent heard one of them ſay, "Go you that way, and I ſhall go this way, and if we can find them in this buſh, we can eaſily take them up." Depones, That he and the other boy ſtayed about half an hour in the buſh, till they found that the ſaid three men were gone away, and then he, the Deponent, and the other boy, went back to the mill of Crathy.

MARGARET ROSS depones, That about 17 years ago, ſhe had a ſon, named James Ingram, then about twelve years of age, whom ſhe ſent an errand to Aberdeen, and who at that time was taken up by Alexander Gray merchant in Aberdeen, in order to be carried to the Plantations; that he was detained in Aberdeen about eight days, but had liberty to go through the town with other boys, and they uſed to go in companies beating

After ſuch a demonſtration of my veracity, and the maltreatment I had formerly ſuffered, the reader, it is believed, cannot but reflect with ſome degree

ing the drum. Depones, That, on Sunday thereafter, ſhe came to the Chapel in the Gallowgate to hear worſhip, and ſhe ſaw her ſon there, and got hold of him, and carried him home with her to Loanhead, which is about half a mile from Aberdeen. Depones, That ſhe kept her ſaid ſon at home for ſome time, until four men came out of Aberdeen for him, in the night-time, while the Deponent and her huſband were in bed, and their ſon James lying at their feet. Depones, She knew none of theſe four men, but they told they were come from the ſaid Alexander Gray, and wanted to carry the ſaid James Ingram into Aberdeen. Depones, That when her ſon heard them ſaying ſo, he wept and ſhed tears; and they inſiſting, cauſed him to riſe out of bed, and go along with them to Aberdeen, and his father followed them; and ſhe was told by her huſband, they went to Alexander Gray's houſe. Depones, That next day, the ſaid John Ingram, her huſband (as he informed the Deponent), came into Aberdeen, and met with Alexander Gray, and ſought back his ſon; who ſaid to him, That if he would pay ſeven pounds Scots, for the expence of maintaining his ſon while he was with Alexander Gray, in that caſe he ſhould get back his ſon; but their circumſtances could not allow them to pay the ſaid ſeven pounds. Depones, That thereafter ſhe came into Aberdeen, and met with Provoſt Aberdeen, who was then Provoſt of the town, and repreſented the caſe to him, and he ſent for Alexander Gray, to come to the town-houſe and ſpeak with the Provoſt. Depones, That when he came, the Provoſt aſked him, if he had a boy of the Deponent's with him; to which Alexander Gray anſwered, that he had a boy, one James Ingram; whereupon the Provoſt ſaid to him, That he did not think it right to take up any perſon's child without conſent of parents, to which Alexander Gray anſwered, that the boy complained that his mother was not good to him; and the Provoſt replied,

degree of indignation on the iniquitous ſentence of the magiſtrates of Aberdeen, and commiſerate the diſmal ſituation to which I was reduced in conſequence of

plied, that a parent could not correct a child out of time, and deſired, that the Deponent ſhould get her ſon; whereupon Alexander Gray aſked, who would pay his charges for maintaining the boy while he had him; at ſame time Gray ſaid, he had given off the boy to one Mr. Copland, in the Gallowgate. Depones, That the Provoſt ſent an officer for Mr. Copland, who could not be found that day; but the Provoſt deſired the Deponent to go home, and return next day to the town-houſe, and ſhe ſhould get her ſon. Depones, That, on her return, the Provoſt ſent for Mr. Copland, and ordered him to give the Deponent her ſon; and he aſked, who would pay the charges of him; and the Provoſt replied, that when his father grew rich, he would cut ſtones for him, he being a ſtone-cutter to his employment. Depones, That Mr. Copland went along with her to a barn at the back-ſide of the town, where her ſon and ſeveral other boys were, the door whereof was open, and James Roſs an officer ſtanding thereat. Depones, That ſeveral of the boys came out of the barn, calling to Mr. Copland for ſhoes and other neceſſaries that they wanted, and her ſon came to the door to her, and Mr. Copland deſired to take from him a ſtriped waiſtcoat that he had given him; which was taken from him accordingly, and the Deponent put a plaid about her ſon above his ſhirt, and carried him home with her. Depones, That ſhe kept her ſon at home a conſiderable time with herſelf, thereafter he went into Aberdeen, and was taken up (as ſhe was informed) by one Lunen in Aberdeen, who went over with boys, a trader to the Plantations. Depones, That, before her ſon went away, he was put into the tolbooth of Aberdeen, and kept there for ſeveral weeks by the ſaid Mr. Lunen; and the Deponent went twice or thrice to the tolbooth, and ſaw her ſon there, and gave him her bleſſing before he went away, and ſhe never ſaw him ſince. Depones, That when ſhe

of that tyrannical deciſion. Stript at once of my all, and of my only means of ſubſiſtence, branded with the character of a vagrant and impoſtor, and ſtigmatized

went into Alexander Gray's ſhop, who cauſed firſt to apprehend her boy, to ſeek him back, the ſaid Alexander Gray took her by the ſhoulders, and thruſt her out of his ſhop. Depones, That, at the aforeſaid time, when her ſon was taken up and carried away, proviſions were very dear and ſcarce, and many were difficulted to get their bread; but the Deponent and her huſband were in condition to have maintained her ſon, and never conſented to his being carried off.—JOHN INGRAM depones, conforms to the ſaid Margaret his ſpouſe.

WILLIAM JAMIESON depones, That, in ſpring 1741, and for ſome years before and after, the Deponent reſided with his family in the town of Old Meldrum, which he reckons to be twelve computed miles from Aberdeen; that the Deponent had a ſon, named John, who was, in the ſpring 1741, between ten and eleven years of age; that about that time, the ſaid John his ſon having been amiſſing from his houſe, the Deponent was informed by the neighbours in Old Meldrum, the day after he was amiſſing, that they ſaw a man, whom they ſaid was a ſervant to John Burnet, late merchant in Aberdeen, who was commonly called Bonny John, with the Deponent's ſaid ſon, and two other boys much about the ſame age, travelling towards Aberdeen; and that his ſon would be ſent to the Plantations: That, in two or three days after receiving this information, the Deponent went to Aberdeen, where he found the ſaid John Burnet, who told him that he had ſeveral boys, but did not know whether the Deponent's ſon was amongſt them; but ſaid, that though he was, the Deponent would not get him back, becauſe he was engaged with him; that the Deponent upon this left Mr. Burnet, and went down about the ſhore, where he had been informed the boys were out getting the air; that when he came there, he obſerved a great number of boys, he thinks about 60,

diverting

ſtigmatized as ſuch in the Aberdeen Journal, baniſhed from the capital of the county wherein I was born, and left to the mercy of the wide world, loaded

diverting themſelves; that they were attended by a man, who, the Deponent was informed by the people of the town, was employed for that purpoſe by the ſaid John Burnet; that this man had a horſe-whip, and the Deponent obſerved him ſtriking the boys therewith when they went out of the crowd. Depones, That he obſerved his own ſon John amongſt theſe boys, and called upon him; that the boy came up to him, and told him that he would willingly go home with him if he was allowed; that immediately upon this, the perſon who was Mr. Burnet's overſeer, came up and gave the boy a laſh with his whip, and took him by the ſhoulder, and carried him amongſt the reſt, and immediately drove them off, and carried them to a barn, where the Deponent ſaw them locked in by the fore-mentioned overſeer, who put the key in his pocket: that the place where the boys were ſtanding, when the deponent ſpoke with his ſon as above deponed on, was on the ſhore, and the Deponent thinks, as far diſtant from the fore-mentioned barn, as from the Writers Court to the Nether-bow Port; that when the boys were marching up to the barn, the Deponent kept pace with the overſeer, who followed immediately after the boys, entreating of him to get liberty to ſpeak to his ſon; who anſwered him, that he ſhould get leave to ſpeak with him by and by when they were come to the barn: but when they came there, the overſeer locked the door as above mentioned, and refuſed the Deponent acceſs; that the Deponent never ſaw his ſon after this: that the Deponent, in paſſing through the town of Aberdeen after his ſon was locked up from him, was told by ſeveral trades-people, and others to whom he had told the ſtory of his ſon, that it would be in vain for him to apply to the magiſtrates to get his ſon liberate; becauſe ſome of the magiſtrates had a hand in thoſe doings, as well as the ſaid John Burnet; upon which the Deponent went home. That in ſummer

loaded with all the infamy that malice could invent. What a deplorable ſituation this! I could not help conſidering myſelf in a more wretched ſtate,

thereafter, the Deponent came up to Edinburgh, to take advice what he ſhould do in this matter, being certainly informed by the voice of the country, that the ſhip on board of which his ſon was put, had ſailed for Maryland about a fortnight or ſo after that day when the Deponent was at Aberdeen, and ſaw his ſon as before mentioned. That after the Deponent came up to Edinburgh, he was recommended to the deceaſed Mr. William Seton, writer to the Signet, who gave him a libelled ſummons againſt the ſaid John Burnet, before the Lords of Council and Seſſion, for reſtitution of the Deponent's ſon; that none of the meſſengers in Aberdeen would execute the ſummons againſt Mr. Burnet, becauſe they would not diſoblige him for any thing the Deponent could give them; which obliged the Deponent to ſend a meſſenger from Old Meldrum to Aberdeen; that the Deponent having inſiſted in this ſummons, the ſaid John Burnet applied to the late Earl of Aberdeen, who ſent for the Deponent's father, his tenant; and the Deponent's father came and carried him to the houſe of Haddo, where the Earl and John Burnet were at that time; that, at this meeting, it was agreed, that the ſaid John Burnet ſhould give the Deponent his bond to reſtore his ſon to him, within the ſpace of a twelvemonth, under the penalty of 50 *l.* Sterling; that the Deponent did not get the ſaid bond, but that the Earl of Aberdeen promiſed that he would cauſe John Burnet to grant the bond; that the Deponent thinks, to the beſt of his remembrance, this meeting was in the end of ſummer 1742; that ſhortly thereafter, Lord Aberdeen died, and the Deponent having inliſted as a ſoldier, was ſent over to Flanders, where he ſerved ſome years, and upon his return John Burnet was become bankrupt, and had left the country; and the Deponent knows not whether his ſon is dead or alive, having never heard of him ſince he was carried from Aberdeen, and never got the bond before mentioned from John Burnet.

GEORGE

ſtate, to be reduced to ſubmit to ſuch barbarities in a civilized country, and the place of my nativity, than when a captive among the ſavage Indians, who boaſt not of humanity.

Conſcious

GEORGE LESLIE depones, That, about the year 1742, it was the current report, That Hugh Mackie ſtabler in Aberdeen, was employed by John Burnet merchant in Aberdeen for taking up boys, that they might be carried to the Plantations. Depones, That the ſaid Hugh Mackie, with a gang of five or ſix boys along with him, was at the back of the Gallowgate, where the Deponent was working as a maſon's ſervant, and they obſerving a boy coming down the ſtreet, they took hold of him; but the boy ſtruggled and got out of their gripes; whereupon Hugh Mackie kicked the ſaid boy with his foot, and turned him into the loch, and the boy being hurt, was confined in the houſe of Harry Black ſtabler, for eight or ten days, till he recovered; but the Deponent does not know what became of that boy afterwards. Depones, That he ſaw a parcel of boys and girls confined in a barn in the Green, before they were ſent to the Plantations. Depones, That he believes they were of different ages, from ten to fifteen years.

CHRISTIAN FINLATER depones, That, ſome years before the battle of Culloden, Hugh Mackie ſtabler in the Gallowgate of Aberdeen, and James Wilſon ſtabler there, were employed for taking up boys to be ſent to the Plantations; and one time ſhe ſaw the ſaid Hugh Mackie driving a parcel of boys before him down the Gallowgate, with a ſtaff in his hand, and ſhe has ſeen him chaſing boys in at cloſes. Depones, She ſaw ſome boys looking out at the window of a barn in the Green, and ſhe reckons they were kept there till they ſhould be ſent to the Plantations; and ſhe heard there were other places in town where boys were kept until they ſhould be ſent away. Depones, That, according to her knowledge and belief, ſome of theſe boys would have been twelve years of age, others of them thirteen, and ſome above and ſome

leſs;

Conſcious of my own integrity, and fired with reſentment at the indignities poured upon me by this arbitrary decree, I was, by the advice and aſſiſtance of

leſs; and ſhe ſaw among them, lads from the Highlands of the ſize of men, and women alſo; and the boys were generally ſtrapping boys. Depones, That ſhe heard one Mr. Copland in Aberdeen was concerned in employing Hugh Mackie and James Wilſon for the above purpoſe.

Robert Brand depones, That, about the month of June 1758, he, the Deponent, ſaw James Thomſon, Dean of Guild's officer, carrying out of George Mackie's houſe (where Peter Williamſon was quartered at that time) a parcel of books, bound or ſtitched in blue paper; the Deponent does not know the number of them. but James Thomſon had his arms extended full of them. Depones, That thereafter he ſaw a ſervant-maid of George Mackie's coming down ſtairs of Mr. Mackie's houſe, after the town-officer had come out of it, and the Deponent aſked her what was the matter; and ſhe anſwered her, that it was the town-officers carrying away Mr. Williamſon's books to the clerks chamber, where Mr. Williamſon was himſelf, and this was the ſecond burden of them.

George Mackie depones, That two or three of the town-officers came to the Deponent's own houſe, and he ſaw them carry away all the copies of the ſaid pamphlets or books, and the ſaid Peter Williamſon was along with the officers, and they were carried to the town-houſe. Depones, That he ſaw ſome of theſe copies drop by the way, as the officers were carrying them to the town-houſe, but he does not know how many copies were ſo dropped, neither did he ſee Peter Williamſon take up any of the dropt copies. Depones, That when Peter Williamſon was appointed by the Magiſtrates to find bail for his appearance to ſtand trial on the complaint againſt him, at the inſtance of the Dean of Guild and Procurator-fiſcal, and when he was put in priſon till he ſhould find the ſaid bail, he, the ſaid Peter Williamſon,

of ſome worthy friends, induced to raiſe a proceſs of oppreſſion and damages againſt theſe my judges, before the Court of Seſſion, the ſupreme tribunal of

ſon, ſent for the Deponent to ſpeak to him, and to bail him: Accordingly the Deponent came up the tolbooth-ſtair, and found him confined in that part of the priſon oppoſite to the door of the court-room, and the Deponent ſpoke to the ſaid Peter Williamſon through the bars of the door of the place where he was confined; and that the ſaid Peter Williamſon deſired the Deponent to become bail for him, and he the Deponent became bail for his appearance before the Magiſtrates, and he thinks he ſigned ſomething for that purpoſe, and thereupon the ſaid Peter Williamſon was ſet at liberty; and the Deponent had him over to his houſe, and preſented him before the Magiſtrates next day. Depones, That, after the Magiſtrates had pronounced ſentence againſt the ſaid Peter Williamſon, he came over to the Deponent's houſe, and told the Deponent, that he had been threatened to ſign a paper, obliging himſelf to go out of the town, and that if he did not ſign the paper, he was threatened to be again impriſoned; thereafter, the ſaid Peter Williamſon hurried himſelf away out of the Deponent's houſe in leſs than a quarter of an hour, leaving behind him ſome of his baggage, which he deſired to be ſent after him to Newcaſtle, and which the Deponent ſent to him accordingly. Depones, That he was an inhabitant of Aberdeen from the year 1740, and that about the year 1741, downward to the year 1744, it was a cuſtom for ſeveral of the merchants of Aberdeen, to carry on a trade of tranſporting young boys and women to the Plantations, of different ages. Depones, That he knew the perſons afternamed were concerned in that way of trade, *viz.* George Garioch, John Elphingſton, John Burnet, Alexander Gray, Lewis Gordon, and Andrew Logie, all merchants in Aberdeen, and James Smith ſaddler there.

JAMES RATTRAY depones, That ſome more than three years ago, the Purſuer, Peter Williamſon, was in Aberdeen,

of juſtice. And as the Lord Ordinary was pleaſed to allow both parties a proof at large, under the ſanction of his authority, I ventured to reviſit the city

Aberdeen, and being carried before the Magiſtrates by the town-officers, the Deponent, as he underſtood Peter Williamſon was a ſtranger, having been ſeveral times in company with him before that day, he went into the court-houſe, where he heard the clerk and ſome of the Magiſtrates, but cannot particularly ſay which of them, challenge the ſaid Peter Williamſon for ſelling and diſtributing the pamphlet libelled, reflecting upon the merchants of Aberdeen as Kidnappers, and that they uſed very rough language to the ſaid Peter Williamſon, but he does not remember the expreſſions, not having given great attention thereto, at leaſt, the expreſſions have now eſcaped his memory. Depones, That before the Deponent left the court, he ſaw the Purſuer carried off by the town-officers by order of the court, but knows not where they carried him to, further than that next day, or the day thereafter, the Deponent happening to be in the houſe of George Mackie innkeeper, he was informed by the ſaid George Mackie, that Peter Williamſon was obliged to leave the town; and that he, the ſaid George Mackie, had become bail to preſent him to the Magiſtrates any time within ſix months, under a penalty; and that both Mackie and his wife ſaid to the Deponent, that he had been very ill uſed by the Magiſtrates.

Depoſitions on the part of the Magiſtrates.

George Garioch, merchant in Aberdeen, depones, That about the year 1740, and forward for ſome years, ſeveral of the gentlemen merchants in Aberdeen, were in uſe to indent ſervants for America; and if any young boys or girls of under-age were ſo indented, and that any of their parents or relations came to claim them back, even after they were indented and atteſted, they were, ſo far as the Deponent knows or remembers, delivered back to their parents or relations, upon paying up what money the merchant had diſburſed on their account. Depones,

city from which I had been formerly baniſhed, where, in ſpite of all the diſadvantages with which power, wealth, and influence could overwhelm me,

pones, That he was informed, that, unleſs a ſervant was atteſted, their indentures were of no avail, and which was his own opinion. Depones, That ſeveral ſervants were indented in the years 1740 and 1741, at which time proviſions were ſcarce in this country; that many ſervants were turned off from their maſters, who could not afford them daily bread for their work, which forced ſundry perſons to come from the country to Aberdeen, and indent; and on that account, the Deponent himſelf, at that period, indented ſeverals out of charity, and, for the above reaſons, believes he was the firſt, at that time of ſcarcity, that began to indent ſuch ſervants. And being interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not he employed people to go and inliſt ſuch kind of ſervants through the country; or if all the ſervants he inliſted about that period, came to the Deponent's houſe voluntarily, to be indented by him? Depones, That he never employed perſons to go and bring perſons to be indented as ſervants at his houſe, but ſuch as he indented came of themſelves, or with their companions, voluntarily to him; and that ſome of thoſe who had indented, he has afterwards diſcharged, without exacting any money of them. And being further interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not there were any boys or children from eight to fourteen years of age that indented themſelves with the Deponent, or did their parents, after they were indented, come and demand them back from you after they were indented? Or did you not ſend over boys of that age, after they deſired themſelves to be releaſed, or that their parents or relations had come and demanded them back? and were any of ſuch young boys or children offered up by their parents or relations to you to be indented for ſcarcity of bread, who were to your knowledge the maſter of ſuch ſervants, who diſmiſſed them as before ſaid? And whether or not did you ſell ſuch indented boys in America, for what number of years,

me, I was enabled to lead ſuch a proof, as convinced that moſt honourable and impartial bench to which I now appealed, that I had met with the higheſt

years, and what ſums did you receive for them? Depones, That he never indented any boy or girl of eight or ten years of age, except when the parents of ſuch children indented with him likewiſe. Depones, That he never ſent off any boys or girls of under-age indented with him, that had been demanded back by their parents or friends. Depones, That never did he indent any boys or girls in town without their parents conſent. Depones, That ſeveral ſervants were indented as aforeſaid to the Deponent, who told the Deponent they were turned off by their maſters for want of bread, but does not remember the names of their maſters. Depones, That he went not to America himſelf, but that their indentures were ſold there from 5 *l.* to 8 *l.* Sterling; that ſuch as were of under-age might be indented for five or ſix years, and ſuch as were of full age only for four.

Alexander Gordon, ſhipmaſter in Aberdeen, depones, That it has been a practice for to indent ſervants to be carried from Aberdeen to the Plantations in America, from the year 1735, downward to the year 1753; and that during the foreſaid period, he has been concerned himſelf in that trade of indenting, for his own account and of his owners, ſervants from Aberdeen, and carrying them over to the American Plantations, in different ſhips commanded by him on different voyages, *viz.* in the brig Diligence, to Philadelphia, and the Ruby, to Virginia and Maryland. Depones, That he has carried over boys, but not under fourteen years of age, and that no indentures can be taken for ſervants of fourteen years of age to continue longer than the ſervants attain the age of twenty-one years, by the cuſtom of Maryland; and that the price he generally received for ſuch ſervants, in Maryland and at Philadelphia, amounted to about 10 *l.* Sterling over head.

Alexander

higheſt injury and injuſtice, and induced them to decern a ſuitable redreſs.—For the ſatisfaction of the reader the ſubſtance of this proof is ſubjoined, as before mentioned.

The

ALEXANDER GRAY, merchant in Aberdeen, depones, That it was a cuſtom nineteen or twenty years ago, and ſince, that ſeveral merchants in the town of Aberdeen, were in practice of hiring boys, girls, and other ſervants, atteſted before the magiſtrates of Aberdeen, or ſome other juſtice of peace, to be carried to America, or other of his Majeſty's Plantations, to be diſpoſed of there. *Cauſa ſcientiæ*, the Deponent dealt in that way himſelf.

HELEN LAW depones, That about the years 1740, 1741, 1742, and ſince, ſeveral of the merchants of Aberdeen were in practice to inliſt boys to be indented, to carry over as ſervants to the Plantations, *viz.* George Black, Alexander Gray, George and Andrew Gariochs, Mr. Copland, James Abernethy, John Elphingſton, all merchants in Aberdeen, and Capt. Robert Ragg ſhipmaſter, and James Smith ſaddler there; and that theſe ſeveral merchants have employed the Deponent to furniſh diet to boys and ſervants that had indented with them. Depones, That about ſeventeen years paſt the month of May laſt, the Deponent was employed to furniſh diet to a parcel of boys and ſervants that were afterwards carried over from Aberdeen to the Plantations by the ſaid Captain Robert Ragg. Depones, That there were nine of the young boys, whom ſhe dieted at that time, that were never confined, but that ſeveral of the big boys and men, who were threatening to run off, that were afterwards confined in priſon, or in the workhouſe of Aberdeen, for ſome ſhort time before Capt. Ragg ſailed. Depones, That among the boys that were never confined, and dieted at her houſe, there was one boy named Peter M'William, who would have been upwards of twelve years of age, a long ſtowie clever boy (by which ſhe means a growthie boy). Depones, That theſe boys came not all at one time to diet with her; ſhe began

The following pages, when duly conſidered, will be obvious to the meaneſt capacity, as the ſubject is entirely calculated to open the eyes of the deluded

with ſome of them a little after Martinmas, and they were continuing to come to her till within a day or two before the ſailing of the ſhip in May thereafter; and that their weekly board was twenty-pence a-week for each, and that the boy Peter M'William was ſome weeks dieted by her. Depones, That there were four or five of thoſe boarded with her that were delivered back by the merchants to their friends, on paying the charges they had coſt the merchants. Depones, That for five weeks before the ſhip commanded by Captain Robert Ragg ſailed from the harbour of Aberdeen, ſhe lay at the key of Tory, and the boys were carried over to the ſhip: during which ſpace the Deponent went over and hired a houſe at Tory, in which houſe ſhe made their diet, and carried it to them on board the ſaid ſhip during that ſpace: and the Deponent was informed, that the reaſon why the ſhip lay at Tory, was, that ſhe was neeped, and had no water to carry her over the bar. And being further interrogate, If Peter Williamſon, whom ſhe now ſees before her, is the identical perſon that dieted at the time foreſaid with her, then named Peter M'William? Depones, That ſhe cannot ſwear that he is the ſame perſon, for ſeveral of theſe boys returned from the Plantations a few years after, whom ſhe did not know again when ſhe ſaw them, by reaſon of the change at that time. Depones, That ſhe had a ſon of her own that the year before had been carried over by James Abernethy, merchant in Aberdeen, whom ſhe had aſked back, and Mr. Abernethy agreed at three different times to deliver him back to her; but he was reſolute to go, and went accordingly. And being interrogate by the ſaid Peter Williamſon, whether or not the Deponent was not always in uſe to aſk leave of the keepers on board of the ſhip, for the boys to come aſhore any time when they lay at Tory, and ſuch liberty was only obtained on the ſaid Helen Law's obliging her to return them back on ſhipboard? Depones, That ſhe did

aſk

luded poor, many of whom have ſuffered tribulation for the loſs of their children, whom the ties of nature bind every Chriſtian parent to preſerve and

aſk leave of the keepers on board of the ſhip for ſome of the ſaid boys to come aſhore with her, which ſhe accordingly obtained, and did become bound to return them back to the ſhip, and on her verbal obligement or promiſe, ſhe was allowed to bring ſome of them even over to the town of Aberdeen with her, and always returned them again on ſhipboard. Depones, That ſhe knows nothing about their parents conſenting to their indentures, as ſome might have had parents and ſome of them none, and ſeverals of them were begging their bread through the town. But depones, That when any of their parents and relations claimed them, they were given them by the merchants on paying their charges.

JAMES ROBERTSON, ſtabler in Aberdeen, depones, That, about ſeventeen years paſt the month of May laſt, the Deponent was employed by James Smith ſaddler, as keeper of ſeveral young boys, the youngeſt of whom would have been about ten years of age, and ſome of them ſixeeen and upwards, who were indented, and their indentures atteſted by the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, to be carried over to the Plantations in America, along with other ſervants, both men and women of full age, alſo indented and atteſted by the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, to be ſhipped on board a ſhip lying at the harbour of Aberdeen, then commanded by Captain Robert Ragg, ſhipmaſter in Aberdeen, and which ſhip was carried over to Tory, where ſhe lay and received the ſaid boys on board of her. The Deponent was ſome time afterwards employed by the ſaid James Smith to go over and ſtay on board the ſaid ſhip as a keeper of the ſaid boys and other ſervants, to the beſt of his remembrance, for the ſpace of twelve or fourteen days, till the ſhip ſailed, and he went with them in ſaid ſhip out of the harbour, till the ſhip was in the road before Aberdeen, from whence he returned back to the town of Aberdeen. Depones, That, during the time the ſaid James Robert-

and cheriſh as their own lives: For, as it is abſurd to imagine that any parent, though in ever ſo neceſſitous a condition, would diſpoſe of their own fleſh and

ſon was on ſhipboard as above, there was alſo another keeper, named Robert Adam, along with him, employed likewiſe to take care of the ſaid boys and ſervants. Depones, That all the night they were confined, and put to their beds in the hold of the ſhip, but all day had liberty to go upon the deck, and even to play them aſhore, their keepers always looking after them; and ſome of them allowed to go to Helen Law's houſe, to help her on board with victuals for themſelves and others. Depones, That among the boys under the Deponent's, and the other keeper's care, there was a boy of about fourteen years of age, who was called Peter M'William. Depones, That Peter Williamſon, whom he ſees preſently before him, is the ſame perſon that was then named Peter M'William, as he preſently apprehends, but will not ſwear poſitively that he is the ſame perſon; for that Peter W'William had black brows, and was pock-marked, and ſo is Peter Williamſon whom he now ſees; but does not remember any boy then aboard called Peter Williamſon; and that Peter M'William was a ſtout, clever, rough lown, and very ill to guide.

James Smith, ſaddler in Aberdeen, depones, That, to the beſt of the Deponent's memory, about nineteen or twenty years ago, but cannot be abſolutely poſitive about the preciſe time, he was employed by John Elphingſton merchant in Aberdeen, and Captain Robert Ragg ſhipmaſter in Aberdeen, and Mr. Walter Cochran town-clerk depute of Aberdeen, in partnerſhip with them, to make leather-caps, and pay for diet, and to pay tailors for clothing furniſhed to ſeveral young boys and other ſervants, that had entered into indentures; atteſted before the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, with the above-named Captain Robert Ragg, to be carried from Aberdeen to America to be diſpoſed of at Philadelphia. Depones, That he accordingly furniſhed the ſaid ſervants with leather-caps, and paid for their clothing and diet, for

and blood to ſtrangers, who make a prey of innocent children, to accumulate their ill-gotten wealth, and ſupport their grandeur, by conveying the unhappy

for all which he was afterwards repaid by the above-named gentleman. Depones, That, among thoſe ſervants that were ſo indented, there was one boy named Williamſon, of about 12 years of age, and another boy of the ſame ſurname, of about 13 or 14 years of age, to the beſt of the Deponent's knowledge and remembrance; but depones, He does not know any of the ſaid two boys Chriſtian names. Depones, That he has not in his cuſtody any accounts or writings relative to the ſervants that were ſent from Aberdeen to the Plantations in the year 1753: But depones, That the account ſhewn to him at deponing, and exhibited by Walter Cochran, town-clerk depute of Aberdeen, conſiſting of twelve leaves, with a docquet on the laſt page thereof, dated 26th July 1743, is a juſt and true account, all wrote with the Deponent's hand-writing; and the Deponent received from the ſaid Walter Cochran payment of the balance of ſaid account, conform to his receipt and diſcharge: and the whole of the articles in ſaid account, and names therein inſert, are genuine and true as wrote by the Deponent, and which account is ſigned by the Deponent and Commiſſioner at deponing. Depones, He heard the ſhip the Planter, Captain Robert Ragg maſter, who carried ſervants for the Plantations in the year 1743, was ſtranded on Cape May.

WALTER COCHRAN, town-clerk depute of Aberdeen, depones and produces an account, wrote book-ways, and bound in marble paper, entitled, Account Bailie William Fordyce and Company to James Smith, which account begins the third day of December 1742, and conſiſts of twelve leaves, and upon the laſt page thereof is a diſcharge by James Smith, dated the 26th July 1743, granting the receipt from the Deponent of payment of the balance of 18*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* Sterling, being full and complete payment of the above and foregoing accounts; and therefore diſcharging the Deponent and Company of

happy victims to the remoteſt parts of the globe, where they can have no redreſs for the injuries done them, theſe cautions are offered to prevent their falling into the ſnare.

Senſible

all he could demand of them: upon the ſecond page of which account, there is charged a ſix-pence for a pair of ſtockings to Peter Williamſon, and five-pence for a woollen cap to ditto, as diſburſed 8th January 1743; and on the third page, there is charged one ſhilling and three-pence Sterling, for five days board of Williamſon, as diſburſed 13th January 1743. Depones, That he received the foreſaid account from James Smith, ſaddler in Aberdeen, and paid him the balance contained in the foreſaid account, and which account is ſigned by the Deponent and Commiſſioner, and produced with the report; and further adds, that the foreſaid account has been lying by the Deponent for ſeveral years paſt, he being one of the company that were owners of the ſhip the Planter, Robert Ragg maſter, who tranſported ſervants to the Plantations, and was wrecked at Cape May.

William Gibson, carpenter in Tory, depones, That before the 12th of May 1743, the Deponent was hired a ſhip-carpenter to Captain Robert Ragg, to ſail a voyage from Aberdeen to Virginia, on board his ſhip, called the Planter, and that there were ſhipped a number of boys, girls, and other ſervants, under indenture, as he heard; but that in their voyage their ſhip was ſtranded on Cape May; but ſome time after, all the ſervants they carried over were ſafely recovered, and a ſloop came down from Philadelphia, and carried all of them up there.

John Dickson, mariner in Stonehive, depones, That the deponent, to the beſt of his remembrance, was engaged as a ſailor in the year 1743, to ſerve under Captain Ragg, to navigate his ſhip called the Planter, from Aberdeen for Virginia. Depones, That

the

Senſible I am, that what I have already ſaid againſt my firſt proſecutors, quadrates with the truth in every particular, and that many unfortunate perſons have been involved in miſery, and decoyed into ſlavery and bondage, as well as myſelf. Separated from their deareſt relations, and obliged tamely to ſubmit to the caprice and chaſtiſement of arbitrary maſters, who have leſs pity and compaſſion on them than on their beaſts of burden. Hard fate to ſuffer all this! harder ſtill to be proſecuted for telling the intereſting tale! I ſpeak this by woful experience, as well as from the knowledge of the hard fate of ſeveral young people, in the neighbourhood of my nativity, whither I had gone in queſt of my relations. After ſo long an abſence, my perſonal appearance muſt no doubt recall to the memory of my friends, the manner of my being carried off in my infancy, and they muſt receive me with wonder and amazement, whom

the ſaid ſhip, on her arrival from London, in order to perform the ſaid voyage, lay at the pier of Tory until ſhe ſailed from ſaid river on her voyage, as the Deponent remembers, on the 12th of May 1743, and took in her cargo there, which conſiſted of ſome parcels of goods, and ſeveral ſervants, being men, women, and boys, who, he believes, were all indented as ſervants, for behoof of the contractors with them, to be diſpoſed of in Virginia: That the ſhip was, before her arrival, ſtranded to the northward of Cape May, upon a little iſland in the province of New Jerſey, where ſhe became a wreck. Depones, That how ſoon the ſhip ſtruck, ſo many of the crew took out a yoal to diſcover a landing place, and the reſt of the crew, and ſome of the ſervants, went into the long boat, and got ſafe aſhore; and ſome of them returned with the long boat, and brought out the reſt of the ſervants; and afterwards a ſloop came down very ſoon, and carried them up to Philadelphia.

they

they had for many years deemed for loſt. The ſatisfaction my preſence gave them, of which they had been ſo long deprived, it is not to be expreſſed; and the comfort I enjoyed in the proſpect of ſeeing my neareſt relations, was in ſome degree a ſolace for the miſeries I had undergone. But, even in this, hard fortune purſued me ſtill, and my troubles were not yet at an end. New enemies ſtarted up, who, as if the abettors of thoſe who laid the ſnare for me when a child, now contrived a new ſpecies of captivity for me, when I was a man. They begrudged me my liberty, and the freedom I took to relate my misfortunes; in order, therefore, to ſuppreſs a diſagreeable truth, they again deprived me of it for a time; deſtroyed my means of ſubſiſtence, and loaded me with infamy and reproach; from which, thanks to the juſtice of my cauſe and the integrity of my judges, I have at laſt been honourably delivered. KIDNAPPING, a ſpecies of trade followed by theſe monſters of impiety for the luſt of gain, may be compared to the practices of the ſavages formerly mentioned, who, to gratify their propenſity to miſchief, cut, mangle, burn, and deſtroy, all the innocent people they can catch. And ſurely the guilt of the kidnapped muſt be much greater than that of the ſavage race, who boaſt not of humanity. If the latter commit ſuch crimes, it is againſt thoſe they imagine to be their enemies, for the ſake of plunder; but the former are void of all excuſe. What then can ſome of the *worthy* merchants of Aberdeen ſay for themſelves. Prompted by avarice, and deſpiſing the laws of God and all civilized nations, have they not been guilty of this atrocious crime? And does not the blood of the innocent, ſeveral of whom have died under the hands of their cruel maſters, cry againſt them for vengeance? Certain it is, that this execrable practice of kidnapping was put in execution

from

from the year 1740 and downwards, by ſeveral merchants in that city, ſome of whom, for reaſons too well known, have ſince deſerted their country. I remember that much about that time, there were idle fellows employed by thoſe traders, to cajole and decoy men, women, and children, to ſerve in the Plantations in America. The poor deluded parents being ignorant of the nature of the traffic, and equally ignorant how or where to apply to for redreſs, were obliged to rely on the fair promiſes of the merchants, whoſe deluſions proved fatal to many of the unhappy victims, who were even come of age, and much more ſo to infants from ſix to fourteen years, who were incapable to contract for themſelves, and tranſported without the knowledge or conſent of their parents. Theſe were left to lament the loſs of their children; many of them without the conſolation of knowing what had become of them; and who could only imagine that an untimely end had been their fate. Such, it is to be ſuppoſed, were the dreadful apprehenſions that filled the eyes of my aged parent with tears, from whom I was thus ſeparated in my non-age. What heart can be unmoved with pity at the relation of ſo diſmal a tale? Who can think, without horror, on theſe monſters of impiety, who could make a traffic of their fellow-creatures in a Chriſtian country, almoſt as openly as is practiſed on the coaſt of Guinea? *Quis talia fando temperit a lachrimis?*—And here the following queries occur, which will tend to explain the meaning of kidnapping.

I. Whether or not, when children are either carried off by force, or decoyed by fraud, without the conſent, or without the knowledge, of their parents, in a ſtate of infancy, or under the years of pupillarity, and incapable of entering into a contract

contract or indenture, may not this be called KIDNAPPING?

II. Whether or not, the ſhutting theſe children up in priſons, or places of confinement, in order to make ſure of them as a prey, and conceal them from their parents, is not contrary to law, and an atrocious crime?

III. If theſe proceedings were agreeable to law, and the inclinations of the perſons ſo impriſoned, what occaſion was there for confinement? When a perſon inliſts himſelf in any ſervice as a volunteer, where is the neceſſity of putting him in priſon? But,

IV. If theſe proceedings were contrary to all laws, human and divine, what puniſhment can be inflicted adequate to the crime?

My betrayers well knew the impracticability of making children abide by any obligation extorted from them, or any agreement to which they were decoyed; and therefore they confined us in barns, on board ſhips, and other convenient places; and, to make our time paſs away the more inſenſibly and free of reflection, they entertained us with muſic, cards, and other childiſh diverſions, till ſuch time as they had got their complement, and the ſhip was ready to ſail.

Various were the arts and ſtratagems made uſe of to inveigle theſe unhappy creatures. Some were inſnared by receiving a trifle of money, and then told they were fairly inliſted. Others were tempted with the bait of great promiſes, being told that they were going to a country where they ſhould live like gentlemen; that they ſhould ride in their coaches, with ſeveral negroes to attend them; that they ſhould poſſeſs large plantations of their own, and ſoon be in a condition to come home and viſit their friends with great pomp and grandeur. By theſe ſpecious and artful inſinuations, many unthinking

thinking giddy youths were ſeduced into ſlavery, relying on promiſes which were meant only to inſnare, and not to enrich them. Some were carried off from their parents by violence, and whipt into the flock, like ſtrayed ſheep going to the ſhambles. All theſe methods, and many more, were practiſed in this execrable branch of traffic, of which the reader will find a proof to his conviction, by peruſing the depoſitions formerly inſerted.

How far theſe ſpecious promiſes were fulfilled, will appear from the treatment we met with when landed in America. On our arrival there, our merchant, or ſupercargo, who had the charge of us, took the earlieſt opportunity to diſpoſe of us to the planters, ſome of whom will buy ten, others twenty, to labour in their plantations and cultivate their ground. Thus were we driven through the country like cattle to a Smithfield market, and expoſed to ſale in public fairs, as ſo many brute beaſts. When thus maltreated by our countrymen, what reaſon had we to expect better uſage from our new maſters, whoſe property we now were? Luckily for me, I fell into the hands of one of my own countrymen, who had undergone the ſame fate himſelf, and who uſed me in a more tender manner than many of my companions in ſlavery had to boaſt of. No thanks, however, to my Kidnappers; for if the devil had come in the ſhape of a man to purchaſe us, with money enough in his pocket, it would have been as readily accepted as of the honeſteſt and moſt humane man in the world. Beſides, theſe children are ſometimes ſold to barbarous and cruel maſters, from whom they often make an elopement, to avoid the harſh uſage they daily meet with; but as there is ſcarce a poſſibility of making a total eſcape, they are generally taken and brought back, and for every day they have been abſent, they are compelled to ſerve a week, for every week a month,

and

and for every month a year; they are beſides obliged to pay the coſt of advertiſing, apprehending, and bringing them back; which often protracts their ſlavery four or five years longer. But a more ſhocking caſe often occurs; ſome of theſe poor deluded ſlaves, after groaning for ſome time under the yoke of tyranny and oppreſſion, with only a diſtant proſpect of relief, in order to put an end to their bondage, put a period to their lives at the ſame time. What a diſmal reflection this, to be the inſtrument of driving an innocent helpleſs creature to deſpair, and ruining him both in ſoul and body!

The planters themſelves are generally of an idle indolent diſpoſition, not caring to fatigue themſelves with work. As ſoon therefore as they can raiſe 20 or 30*l.* they purchaſe ſervants from the European merchants, whom they make ſlaves, ſome for four or five, others for ſeven years. Theſe they ſend to the woods, or employ in other kinds of hard labour, and oblige them to perform a certain taſk of work in a day; in which if they fail, they are ſeverely puniſhed by their maſters, who review their work at night. Nor dare the ſervant, when he is thus chaſtized, preſume to vindicate himſelf, for fear of giving a new offence to this unrelenting tyrant, whoſe humour muſt be indulged, even at the expence of ſtrokes and blows. This is generally the caſe throughout the different colonies in North America; but more eſpecially in Maryland and Virginia. Theſe two are the beſt markets to which our European merchants can reſort for the ſale of their illicit cargoes of ſlaves. Here they may barter them for tobacco, the ſtaple commodity of theſe colonies, upon which they have an immenſe return of profit.

The ſervants in Maryland are moſtly convicts, who have been baniſhed their native country for miſdemeanors;

miſdemeanors; yet ſome of them, when their period of ſlavery is over, acquire plantations of their own, and are very expert in raiſing tobacco, and in the other branches of trade in that country. They frequently contract with their correſpondents in Europe, to ſend them over men, women, and children, to be employed in the culture of their plantations: But the fallacious promiſes of the undertakers here, are ſo pernicious to thoſe whom they engage, that they generally prove their utter deſtruction. By their manner of cajoling, they induce thoſe ignorant creatures to believe, that, when they indent themſelves for four or five years, to ſerve in the Plantations, they are to have high wages, to be paid annually in their mother-country: But when theſe deluded perſons come to make the experiment, they will find it quite the contrary. Be aſſured, you will meet with no ſuch entertainment in any part of America; for you muſt ſerve your indented time, agreeable to the laws of the country, without one farthing of allowance, but at the diſcretion of your maſter; and it is well if you are furniſhed with clothes ſufficient to cover your nakedneſs.

Beſides, you who indent yourſelves in this manner, labour under another diſadvantage; for, in that country, they are of opinion (and a natural preſumption it is), that when men and women, come to the age of maturity, wilfully and deliberately agree to tranſport themſelves as ſlaves for any number of years, they muſt have been guilty of ſome notorious crime; thoſe, therefore, who come over in this manner, are looked upon as in the black claſs of convicts, who, for fear of a proſecution at home, take this ſtep to prevent a diſcovery of their vices. For ſome time, honeſt people, who had engaged to ſerve in that country, ſuffered conſiderably on this account, both in their characters and

fortunes, as theſe renegadoes were allowed to be evidences againſt them, and to ſwear away their reputations. But this has at laſt been debarred by the laws of the country, as none are allowed this privilege, unleſs they bring along with them a certificate, ſigned and atteſted by perſons of character and repute, bearing, that they were deſcended of honeſt parents, and that nothing criminal or diſhoneſt can be laid to their charge; this being approved of and recorded in the books of a Court of Juſtice, the perſon's oath is then deemed legal.

From hence it appears, that numberleſs inconveniencies and diſadvantages attend the perſon, who, though of an age capable to diſpoſe of himſelf, by fooliſhly liſtening to the deceitful promiſes of theſe recruiters for ſlaves, at once ſtakes his happineſs, his liberty, and perhaps his life. You will perhaps be told, that you are going to a country flowing with milk and honey. Theſe, it is true, are to be had in great plenty in America; but before you come to enjoy them, you will find that you muſt wade through an ocean of labour and fatigue, and that out of the ſweet cometh forth bitterneſs. Whereas, if you are poſſeſſed but of three or four pounds to pay your paſſage, and are of an ingenious diſpoſition, whether in mechanics, commerce, agriculture, or manufactures, you are certain not only of handſome bread, but, by moderate frugality and induſtry, of making a genteel fortune in a few years.

A Short

A Short hiſtory of the Proceſs between PETER WILLIAMSON and the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen.

IN the introduction to the former Diſcourſe on Kidnapping, I fairly ſtated the caſe betwixt the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen and me, without diſguiſing the truth in any the moſt minute particular. I therefore appeal to the unbiaſſed judgment of the candid Reader, whether, after the unmerited maltreatment I ſuffered from the arbitrary proceedings of theſe magiſtrates, merely for relating a ſimple, but diſagreeable fact, I ſay, I ſubmit it, whether I was not entitled to ſue for redreſs before a higher tribunal. The motives or principles upon which they acted, in the irregular proſecution againſt me, in which they were both my Accuſers and Judges, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but, from the proof before inſerted, the reader will hardly be at a loſs to form a conjecture. In order to aſcertain the power of a magiſtracy, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to the original inſtitution of it. That liberty which the conſtitution of this country conſiders as its favourite object, is the reſult of the equipoiſe which our laws have eſtabliſhed between the authority of Magiſtrates and the rights of the people. As the relative duties of ſociety muſt be enforced by the Magiſtrate, and compliance with the law exacted from the Citizens, by means of his authority, all the power that is neceſſary for theſe ſalutary purpoſes is veſted in him; and, in the due execution of it, he is not only entitled to the protection of the laws, but is an object of its veneration: Yet the ſame principles that have thus armed him with authority, for the benefit of ſociety, have wiſely impoſed upon him a reſtraint from abuſing it.

Senſible that authority improperly uſed, may become the moſt dreadful inſtrument of oppreſſion, the law has not only declared wilful malverſation in office to be a crime, but to thoſe who have ſuffered by the proceedings of Magiſtrates, whether through inattention or ignorance (for ignorance is never blameleſs in a Magiſtrate), it has given an action of oppreſſion and damages, for reparation of the injury the private party has ſuffered.

In this light did I conſider the harſh ſentence of the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen againſt me, p. 112. Had they acted, according to the eſtabliſhed forms of all courts of Juſtice, their proceedings would, at leaſt, have had ſome colour of regularity; though their ſentence would not have been leſs iniquitous. Why was not I complained of, by a party having intereſt in the cauſe? Why was not the complaint ſerved upon me, and I appointed to give in anſwers? Why were not the legal *inducia*, or days, allowed me to prepare for my defence? All theſe forms were neglected or deſpiſed. The Magiſtrates themſelves inſtigated the complaint; they proceeded to judge upon it without ſervice; without allowing ing *inducia*; and without anſwers. It is evident, therefore, they acted not as Magiſtrates, but as private oppreſſors.

Baniſhed from the capital of the county wherein I was born, and ſtript of my all, I now bethought myſelf where or how to apply for redreſs. In this view I purſued my journey to Edinburgh; but, ignorant of the law, and unacquainted with any of its members, equally deſtitute of money and friends, and labouring under the reflections which the calumnious advertiſement publiſhed by the Magiſtrates threw on my character, I was utterly at a loſs to whom, or in what manner, I ſhould apply to for direction. From this dilemma, however, I was ſoon relieved by the aſſiſtance of kind providence, who threw

threw me in the way of a Gentleman verſant in the Law, a Gentleman of knowledge, character, and integrity, by whoſe advice I was conducted, and by whoſe intereſt I was ſupported, from the infancy to the concluſion of my proceſs. On a fair relation of my grievances, the injuries I ſuffered appeared to him ſo flagrant, that he did not heſitate a moment to declare his opinion, That I was not only entitled to ample damages from my proſecutors, but that the Court of Seſſion would find no difficulty to award theſe, with full coſts of ſuit. It is unneceſſary here to take up the Reader's time in running over minutely the different ſteps of the proceſs from the beginning. Suffice it to ſay, that a proceſs of Oppreſſion and Damages was commenced at my inſtance, againſt the Magiſtrates of Aberdeen, wherein the Lord Ordinary allowed both parties a proof of the facts alleged on either ſide. And accordingly a Proof was taken, partly at Edinburgh, and partly at Aberdeen, of which the Reader has ſeen a ſpecimen in the preceding pages. I ſhall only obſerve here, that my perſonal preſence being neceſſary on this occaſion at the laſt-mentioned place, I ſet out from Edinburgh for Aberdeen in September 1760, and though I had not the leaſt knowledge of, or connection with any ſingle evidence I might bring, yet the trade of Kidnapping was ſo flagrant in that country, and had left ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, that I was under no difficulty to bring a complete proof of the practice, by a number of perſons who had ſuffered by it, being deprived of their children.

And here I cannot forbear doing juſtice to the conduct of the Gentleman whom I named as Commiſſioner, to take the depoſitions of the witneſſes on the part of my Opponents. During the various ſteps of procedure in leading the Proof, wherein I met with all the obſtructions that the malice of

my enemies could ſhrow in my way, he acted a moſt candid and ingenuous part.

After a ſhort dependence, the cauſe at laſt came to be adviſed in courſe, before the Court of Seſſion, by Memorials on the proof; when, after hearing of parties at the bar at full length, their Lordſhips were pleaſed, on the 2d of February 1762, to pronounce the following Interlocutor:

" The Lords having adviſed the ſtate of the proceſs, teſtimonies of the witneſſes adduced, writs produced, with the memorials given in *hinc inde*, and having heard parties procurators thereon, find the libel relevant and proven; and find the defenders, conjunctly and ſeverally, liable to the Purſuer in damages, and modify the ſame to the ſum of 100 *l.* Sterling, and decern; and find the Defenders alſo, conjunctly and ſeverally, liable to the Purſuer in the expences of this proceſs, and of the extract of the Decreet, as the ſame ſhall be certified by the Collector of the clerk's fees; for which the Lords declare the Defenders to be perſonally liable, and that the ſame ſhall be no burden upon the town of Aberdeen; and ordain an account of the ſaid expences to be given in; and ordain the account-book mentioned in the State, and produced upon oath by Walter Cochran, and ſigned by the Lord Preſident, of this date, to remain in the hands of the clerk of this proceſs, till further order of the Court."

Againſt this Interlocutor, the Magiſtrates preſented a reclaiming Petition, craving either to be aſſoilzied from the Proceſs; or, at leaſt, that the damages awarded ſhould be modified. To this Petition is ſubjoined the following curious letter.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from William Davidſon *and* James Jopp, *late Bailies of Aberdeen, to* Walter Scott, *Writer to the Signet.*

SIR, *Aberdeen, February* 4, 1764.

WE are very ſorry to find by yours of 30th paſt, that there is a ſentence pronounced againſt us in Williamſon's proceſs, whereby we are decerned to pay to him a very large ſum out of our private pockets.

We think it neceſſary to inform you, that our conduct and intentions, with regard to our ſentence againſt him, have been entirely miſunderſtood. We can with the greateſt integrity declare, That, at the time of pronouncing that ſentence, neither of us knew, directly or indirectly, that Walter Cochran, the depute-clerk, was any ways concerned in tranſporting boys to America, or that there ever was in being the book he produced in the proof: That neither of us had ever any intereſt or concern in ſuch trade: That we never knew, and did not believe, that any men and boys were ever tranſported from Aberdeen to America contrary to law: That we conſidered the paragraph in Williamſon's book, reſpecting the merchants of Aberdeen, to be a very calumnious and reproachful aſperſion on them, which they did not deſerve: That Williamſon himſelf had the appearance of being an idle ſtroller, and could give no good account of himſelf, and had procured this pamphlet to be compoſed for him, of ſuch ſhocking circumſtances, in order the more eaſily to impoſe upon, and draw money from the credulous vulgar: And, upon the whole, That we had no motive of intereſt, either on our own account,

count, or any perſon whatever, or any prejudice againſt Williamſon (having never before ſeen or heard of him), to induce us to pronounce the ſentence againſt him: That we did it purely, as what we judged material juſtice to vindicate the character of thoſe we believed to be innocent, and were unjuſtly reflected upon; and that whatever in the ſentence appears to their Lordſhips to be either oppreſſive or illegal, proceeded entirely from error in judgment, and not from any ſiniſter deſign: So that however far the ſentence has been wrong, we are ready moſt freely to make any declaration that may be neceſſary, that it proceeded from the moſt innocent intention.

Under theſe circumſtances, you will eaſily perceive how much we were ſurpriſed on reading yours, giving account of the ſentence againſt us; and how hard a thing it is to be decerned to pay a ſum of money, as a fine, for doing what we conſidered to be our duty.

You will therefore lay this before the lawyers, in order they may the better form a reclaiming petition. We muſt think our caſe very hard, if their Lordſhips do not grant us redreſs in this matter. ——We are, *&c.*

W. DAVIDSON,
JAMES JOPP.

This letter, however, did not avail their cauſe. It was in vain to deny their being in the knowledge that ſuch an illicit ſpecies of traffic was carried on by ſome of the merchants in Aberdeen, when it was done in ſo public a manner, that the meaneſt reſidenter in the city obſerved it; when the *fama clamoſa* of KIDNAPPING overſpread the whole country, ſo that the poor people, whoſe buſineſs led them frequently to town, were afraid to carry their children along with them, leſt they ſhould be

be picked up, and tranſported to the Plantations. In the end, they inſinuate that their ſentence againſt me proceeded from an error in judgment, and not from any ſiniſter deſign; and that they were willing to make any declaration neceſſary, to evince the innocence of their intentions. But if a ſentence calculated for the ſuppreſſion of truth, and to prevent the detection of a commerce the moſt illegal and moſt deſtructive of ſociety, can be ſaid to proceed from no ſiniſter deſign, then every ſentence that has a tendency to ſcreen the guilty, and encourage thoſe monſters who make a traffic of the perſons and liberties of their fellow-creatures, muſt be accounted innocent. The whole of the procedure of the Magiſtrates againſt me appears to have been directed to this ſingle end. From this view, they *firſt* cauſed the whole impreſſion of my book to be ſeized, and thoſe offenſive tell-truth leaves to be burnt, that they might not revive the memory of this villanous trade, and riſe in judgment againſt their brother-merchants. 2*do*, In order to make the ſurer work of it, they extorted from me the declaration inſerted, p. 112, under the terror of impriſonment; and cauſed publiſh the ſame in the newſpapers, in order to ſtigmatize my character, and brand me with the infamy of being an impoſtor and a liar. And, *laſtly*, They baniſhed me the city, leſt I ſhould retract my declaration, and have an opportunity to ſpread the truth of my former aſſertions. Their ſchemes, however, had an effect the very reverſe of what they intended. Inſtead of ſuppreſſing the truth, their proceedings have proved the means of bringing it to light, and confirming it by indubitable evidence; and ſo opening a ſcene of the groſſeſt impiety, barbarity, and wickedneſs.

To the above reclaiming petition, anſwers were given in on my part; and the Lords, after re-conſidering

ſidering the merits of the cauſe, were pleaſed to adhere to their former Interlocutor. Thus ended this proceſs of oppreſſion, carried on by a poor man, againſt the Magiſtracy of one of the moſt opulent and moſt reſpectable boroughs in Scotland.

It is the peculiar happineſs of this land of liberty to be bleſſed with a Supreme Court, wherein juſtice is diſpenſed with an equal hand to the poor and rich; wherein the cauſe of the King and the Beggar is weighed in the balance of equity and law, and decided in favour of him whoſe ſcale preponderates. Happy is that nation whoſe judges are men of integrity, uninfluenced by power, unbiaſſed by party, and untainted by corruption! Such become the Guardians of the liberties and properties of the people, the protectors of the innocent, the ſcourges of the guilty, the ſupporters of the weak, and the terrors of the tyrant and oppreſſor. Such are the members of that honourable tribunal to which I appealed my cauſe, who redreſſed my grievances, and allowed me ſuch compenſation for thoſe acts of violence and oppreſſion which I had ſuffered from my tyrannical proſecutors, as they, in their wiſdom, thought juſt and equitable. Nor muſt I omit to pay a tribute of gratitude to thoſe worthy and learned Gentlemen who appeared in my cauſe at the bar, and who nobly exerted themſelves in opening up and diſplaying that ſcene of oppreſſion and lawleſs perſecution wherewith I had been haraſſed, and that without any proſpect of fee or reward. In particular, I muſt acknowledge my obligations to that learned Lawyer, who was aſſigned me as Counſel by their Lordſhips, when my circumſtances could not afford the price of a conſultation. He generouſly embarked in my cauſe, and, by force of argument, law, and eloquence, expoſed the injuſtice done me, and the weakneſs of my Opponent's reaſonings, in ſuch a light, that my

my plea became as clear as noon-day, and obvious to the meaneſt capacity.

I ſhall trouble the Reader no further on this ſubject, my chief intent in publiſhing this narrative of my Proceſs, being, to warn Gentlemen in power and ſtation, not to abuſe them by a lawleſs exerciſe of their authority againſt the poor and innocent; for they may be aſſured, that power will not ſanctify oppreſſion, nor will juſtice be hood-winked by riches. On the other hand, the weak and friendleſs need not deſpair of obtaining redreſs, though groaning under the yoke of tyranny: Let them have but the reſolution to apply to the College of Juſtice; Providence will throw friends in their way, their oppreſſors ſhall hide their heads, and the cruelties they have committed be retaliated upon them.

A particular Deſcription of the

INDIAN TOMAHAWK.

THE hatchet or axe, which the Indians call a Tomahawk, is uſed by them in many different employments. This inſtrument, in its preſent form, is ſaid to have been the invention of the great William Penn, firſt proprietor of Penſylvania. The tools uſed by the Indians, when he came among them, were made of ſtone; which were of little uſe in cutting wood. He procured a Tomahawk, and a ſcalping knife; and employed European ſmiths to make ſuch after the Indian pattern; which was accordingly done. The Tomahawk was made like a plaſterer's hammer, with a whiſtle in the handle, to give an alarm in caſe of danger: by this, and ſuch-like inventions, the name of Penn became famous among them. The Indians he found much addicted to ſmoking tobacco; but for want of a better method, they ſmoked through leaves twiſted up into a kind of a pipe. Seeing

ing this, he diſtributed ſeveral groſs of Engliſh tob: pipes among them, which pleaſed them for the inſtant; but unuſed to ſuch brittle ware, the pipes would not ſtand their rough uſage, but quickly broke; which loſt Penn his credit among them, as they concluded themſelves defrauded, ſince pipes ſo eaſily broke they eſteemed of no ſervice. Father Penn, as they called him, was hereupon obliged to reſtore the Indian goods he had received in exchange for the pipes; and was glad to make ſpeedy reſtitution to prevent bad conſequences. He then cauſed the Tomahawk to be made to hold tobacco in the head of it, with a hole drilled through the handle to ſmoke by: an inſtrument of ſuch beneficial ſervice entirely regained him the confidence of the Indians; and was much more prized than the former, with the whiſtle at the end. It is now become uſeful in many branches of their buſineſs. In time of war they carry it with them, under their belts, and, when victory inclines to their ſide, after firing their guns, they ruſh upon their enemies with it, fracturing and cleaving their ſkulls; very ſeldom failing of killing with the firſt blow. They are alſo very dexterous in throwing it, and will ſtrike an object at 50 yards diſtance. They alſo employ it in cutting wood, and in barking trees, at the ſeaſon when they make their canoes. On the handle of the Tomahawk they record the occurrences of war. When their warriors are ſent to fight, they cut as many notches on the handle of the hatchet to know their number by. Their wounded are alſo marked down, with the number of priſoners they take from the enemy; each in a different manner. So that at the cloſe, they are enabled to form an eſtimate of the ſucceſs of every expedition. Their Tomahawk is alſo the regiſter of their time: the returns of the moon, and remarkable events, are thereon diſtinguiſhed; as will appear upon converſing with any of their wiſe men, who will account for themſelves for 6000 moons paſt.

FINIS.